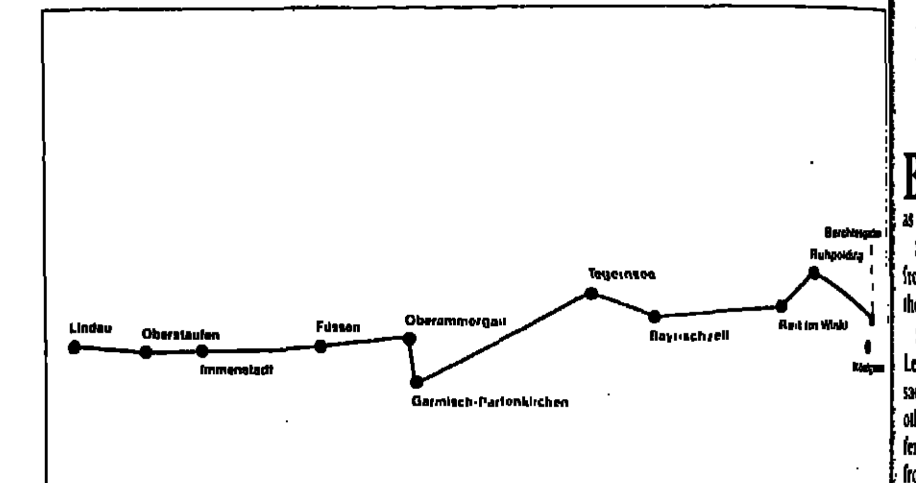
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Alpine Route

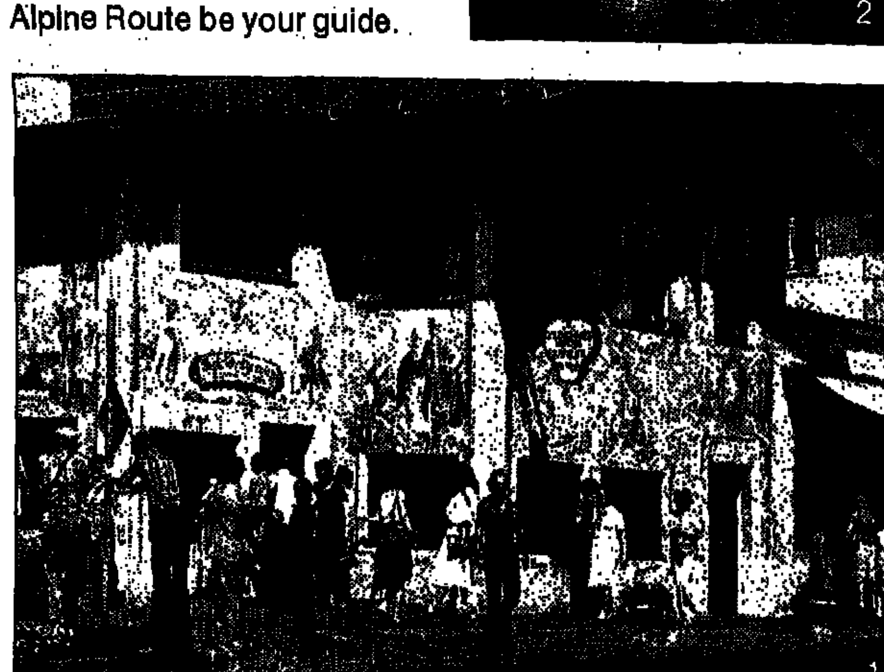
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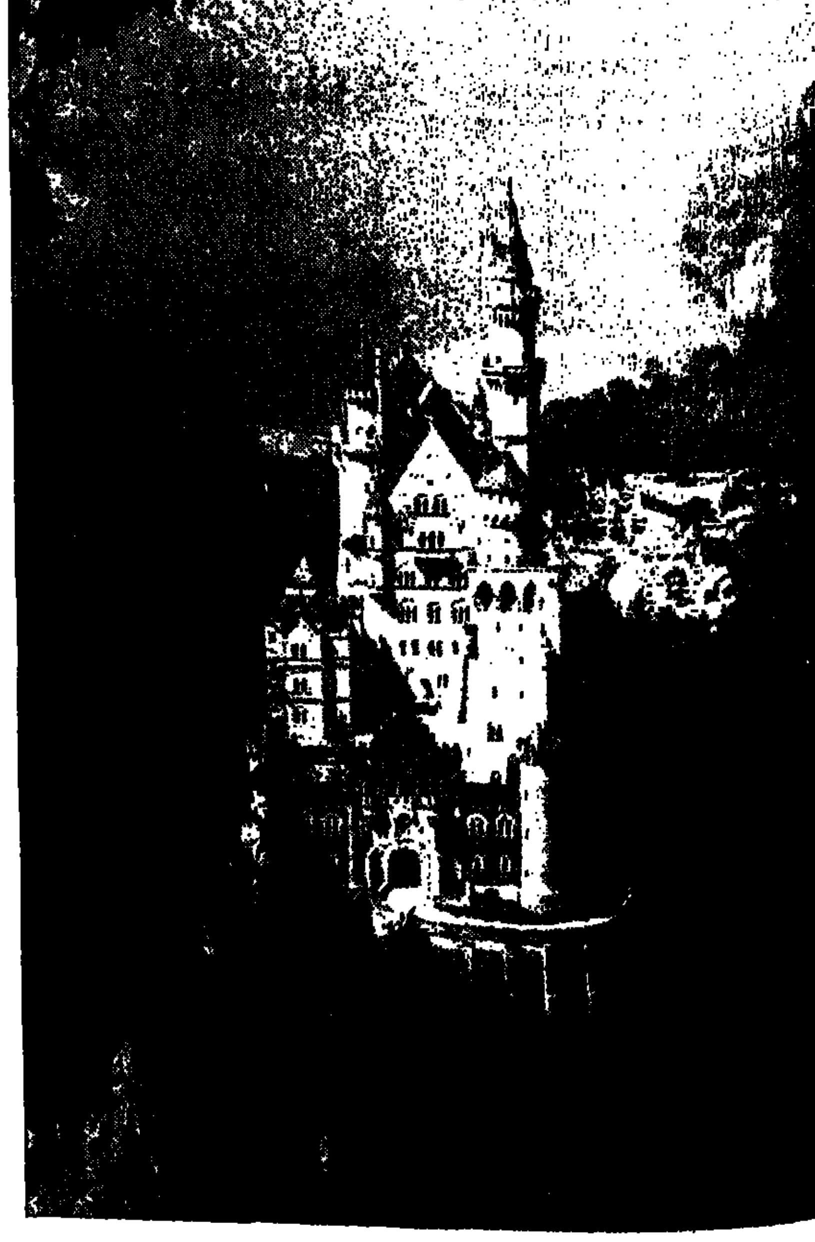
1 Oberammergau
2 Königssee
3 Lindau
4 Neuschwanstein Castle











The German Tribune

Hamburg, 26 February 1984
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Superpowers both need cooled-down Lebanon

Allgemeine Zeitung

Beneath the cedars of Lebanon the flames of a war that is as pointless as it is undeclared blaze brightly.

Shiites and Druzes fight with arms from abroad against the ascendancy of the Christians.

Syrian and Israeli troops are based in Lebanon: the one because President Assad has visions of a Greater Syria, the other because Israel aims at forward defence of its northern border threatened from Lebanon.

America and Russia, the superpowers, are indirectly involved but have so far taken good care to ensure that their commitments on behalf of their respective protégés don't lead to clashes between their own forces in the area.

In spite of this cautious crisis management in Moscow and Washington further developments in Lebanon are unpredictable and thus dangerous further afield than the Middle East.

Any realignment of power in Lebanon to the advantage of Israel's Islamic enemies can spell a threat to Israel's very survival.

So it could lead to military moves aimed at providing clearance but entailing incalculable consequences for the closely-meshed network and economic ties between the oil states and Europe.

Due to the debate on missile modernisation in Central Europe, the months of guesswork about Mr Andropov's illness and waiting to see who might emerge as the new Kremlin leader the Lebanon crisis at times took a back-seat role in world affairs.

The collapse only became obvious when the 1,600 US marines got into a hopeless situation and President Gemayel was left with no option but to try and carry on governing from the fortifications of his Presidential palace.

America had to admit it had miscalculated the situation and balance of power.

In the 1950 President Eisenhower sent nearly 20,000 US marines to pacify the country and restore Western-style government.

Even then Lebanon continued to be stricken by crises. The contrasting interests of the various creeds and communities could only be kept in check temporarily.

Extremist trends, with external backing, continually came to the fore. The strongest influence on domestic developments has always been from Syria, with Israel trying in vain to counteract it by supporting the Christians.

The only way to find out for sure what further course the situation might take in Lebanon is to make inquiries in Damascus.

Anyone who is not directly involved in the Lebanon fighting and would like to mediate or exercise a moderating effect will have to try and come to terms with President Assad.

Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, a recent visitor to the Syrian capital, may not have coordinated his visit with the Bonn government but in principle he went to the right capital.

It was a tricky mission, however, and one can but wonder why the CSU leader did not check with the Bonn Cabinet, which he and his party support, before accepting the Syrian invitation.

It doesn't speak well for the internal cohesion and external credibility of a coalition when such spectacular diplomatic moves are made by a leading member of the coalition and then publicly disowned by both the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister.

A mission that basically was to the point has thus quite unnecessarily been discredited.

What may now happen in Lebanon? Syria is likely to set its cap at stabilising its influence on the future government.

But President Assad will probably avoid a merger to form a Greater Syria so as not to force Israel, and with it the United States, to resort to counter-measures.

The superpowers continue to share an interest in preventing the flames in Beirut from spreading throughout the Middle East.

Moscow accordingly retains control over the large-size missiles it has set up in Syria, while Washington steers clear of a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in spite of occasional bomb raids.

Vietnam and Afghanistan are deterrent examples for both superpowers of even the largest military power being driven from one defeat to the next by determined guerrillas in difficult terrain.

In addition to this shared experience the two nuclear giants must also feel they share another reality. The holy war declared by Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran is aimed at them both, without distinction.

What is going on in Lebanon can from Syria's viewpoint be explained as politically and historically justifiable intervention.

Khomeini sees it as part of the general uprising of the Arab-Islamic world he has called into being against alienation by the rich industrialised countries of Europe and America.

He has combined a return to Islamic beliefs and the Islamic way of life with an appeal to fight the enemies of the true belief from Baghdad and Beirut to Jerusalem.

The danger of fighting spreading throughout the Middle East is caused less by President Assad in Damascus, with his Greater Syrian designs, or by the parties to conflict in Lebanon itself.

The greatest threat is posed by the fanatical hara-kiri corps of Shiite Moslems who at Khomeini's behest aim to carry the green flag of Mohammed to Jerusalem and against Israel.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 18 February 1984)



Looking for unity

European Union was one of the main topics when Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) met Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens in Brussels. See story below.

(Photo: AP)

Europe again searches for some cash

Europe is going begging again. Sessions of the Council of Ministers in Paris and Brussels are embarking on yet another of the innumerable bids to realign EEC contributions and tap fresh sources of cash for the Common Market.

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is one of the most anxious observers of their progress.

Last summer Chancellor Kohl put together an EEC decision-making package consisting of European Community membership for Spain and Portugal, a partial reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, a reduction in the European steel industry's capacity and the provision of extra Common Market funds.

This package includes the most important factor that may break the bounds of Herr Stoltenberg's budget plans for 1985 and the years thereafter.

The Bonn budget is likely to face additional European expenditure totalling several billion deutschemarks a year, and President Mitterrand of France is sure to go all-out to reach a decision on the package while France is in the EEC chair.

As the Germans are the main supporters of Spanish and Portuguese membership they will not for long be able to resist pressure to increase from 1 to 1.4 per cent the national value-added tax revenue payable to the EEC in Brussels.

The difference is DM4bn a year as far

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The age of the old men at the top: a probable plus for common sense

Mr Andropov may have died but the world, or rather the great powers are still ruled by old men. Ronald Reagan is 73, Deng Xiaoping 79, Konstantin Chernenko 72.

The new Kremlin leader may form part of a collective, but old men predominate in the politbureau too.

In business life in general, old age may not be in demand, but in world affairs ageing politicians are clearly highly-rated.

There may be good reasons, but philosophers of all ages and all parts of the world have colourful and contradictory comments to make on old age.

Being old can mean being stubborn and senile; it can also mean being mature and wise. Marie Ebner-Eschenbach said it was the time of life at which we finally attained vision.

Does this apply to the men in charge of the superpowers? All one can say is that in contrast to attacks levelled a few weeks and months ago there now seems to be an increase in the dulcet tones of moderation.

But this change of mind is sure not to have been due solely to sentiments of piety in view of Mr Andropov's death.

For some time Mr Reagan has said he is ready to negotiate with the Russians. He has not ruled out a summit meeting if the two sides are really keen to achieve results.

The éminence grise in Peking is also keen to bury the hatchet and anxious to come to a peaceful arrangement with the Soviet leaders.

Deputy Premier Wan Li not only headed the funeral delegation. He was also honoured by being specially mentioned by the new Soviet general secretary.

As for Mr Chernenko himself, he had not an unkind word to say about Mr Reagan, merely offering an honest dialogue with the West.

The Soviet Union, Mr Andropov's successor said, would continue to pursue a policy aimed at coexistence and peace for all.

But that is a tranquilliser even the man in the street finds hard to stomach.

He may well realise that the men at the helm are only human but he also senses the dark, apocalyptic dangers that threaten to engulf the globe.

They are so explosive they could well make the world a vale of tears.

The policy pursued by the men in power consists of drastically pointing to the writing on the wall while behaving as though they were pursuing national policies along 19th century lines.

Mr Reagan is keenly aware of the strength the United States has regained. He stands to gain nothing from a confrontation with the Soviet Union because he wants to be re-elected as a President who has brought peace and security.

The Beirut debacle has shown him that you can't always get what you want by wading straight in and aiming for it; there are times when a tactical approach is indispensable.

Mr Deng has set aside any ideas of perfect cooperation with the United States. Cooperation with America has neither yielded Taiwan nor upstaged the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leader now sees a balanced doubles with the other two superpowers as the best prospect for the future of his country.

In global terms that may be beneficial, but it also involves taking sides against America.

The new man in the Kremlin is no more in a position than his colleagues to risk a permanent large-scale feud with the West.

He and the other old men of Moscow not only have no intention of jeopardising Lenin's life's work; they want to make the promised land of workers and peasants even larger and more powerful.

Given the appalling economic conditions in the Soviet Union that can only mean compromising with the enemy, and as no-one wants to lose face there is a great deal of play-acting.

Acting may be amusing and, indeed, entertaining. But in reality it has no more than symbolic value. It is a value that must not be underestimated but cannot ease current hardship.

Alfred Weber, the cultural sociologist, said in 1950 that the situation was so apocalyptic he would be bound to abandon hope were it not to be assumed that realisation of the danger would trigger forces to stem the tide that would otherwise inevitably take its toll.

He made an almost impassioned plea for international understanding. Others have called for something similar. Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, for instance, talks in terms of an international home affairs policy that alone can save the world and ensure its future.

But waiting for a wonder, and be it the wonder of mankind coming to its own assistance, is surely not enough. It cannot conceivably suffice.

We have relied for far too long on the self-curative powers of nature and gone on to abuse them time and again. What we really need all over the world is a change in consciousness.

It must no longer be first and foremost a matter of detail but of the whole, especially as the present day has many rational characteristics.

Most political problems could indeed be solved if we were to be guided by common sense, but it is also true that we will get nowhere with prompt appeals to common sense.

It may well be a labour of Sisyphus that lies ahead. But let us return to the old men who rule the superpowers and to a large extent, the world.

They are unlikely to risk dangerous experiments over and above strong words. They want to hand over their life's work intact.

That ought to predestine them to set no bounds whatever to common sense, using it as the sole means of conducting international affairs.

Younger politicians find it hard to jump over their own shadows. It might come easier to older men.

Heinrich Stubbe

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 17 February 1984)

The ifs and buts that come AD Yuri Andropov

The faster world affairs hurtles from one summit to the next, the harder it is to come to terms with a common trough of the normal.

The spirit of statesmanship is said to preside gladly over such highlights as the Camp David Agreement, where the air is balmy and does politicians' circulations good.

True summits, as the name implies, can be only be scaled using the crampons that are a superpower's privilege.

A summit or two may lie ahead if the sense of elation that has fired the imagination of Western Cabinets after initial contacts with the new man in the Kremlin can be taken seriously.

Mr Chernenko's health is a problem, of course. Is it sound enough to leave him to learn more than how to fly diplomatic kites?

His initial performance has not been outstanding but already Kremlin-watchers on both sides of the Atlantic seem to feel a summit is imminent.

The new old man at the held in the Kremlin was more obliging than might have been expected toward the funeral guests from Nato countries.

Is the readiness for a dialogue that some of his visitors felt he indicated the reason for the relief that is always felt in the West when power is realigned in the Kremlin?

What, after all, has changed? The collective leadership in Moscow consists of the same men as laid down the line during the 15 months of the Andropov era and the final stages of the Brezhnev era.

That can only mean that in view of Mr Chernenko's inexperience foreign policy decisions by the politbureau will be guided and influenced even more than they already are by the routine of Mr Gromyko, who is the longest-serving Foreign Minister on the international stage.

It is not a time for super-summits, arguably more one for mini-summit meetings of Foreign Ministers.

From the Russian viewpoint summit meetings at the top level are thus rendered superfluous, not to say undesirable, until further notice.

The Soviet Union is not going to risk such serious mishaps as befell US diplomacy twice in Vienna, where inexperienced Presidents conferred, first with Mr Khrushchev, then with Mr Brezhnev, and headed with eyes wide open for foreign policy disaster.

Today's great powers cannot profit from the spirit of Vienna because they lack several points held in common by Metternich and the old masters of the 1815 congress.

One is the style of Cabinet diplomacy. Another is that today's leaders, unlike their predecessors over a century and a half ago, have entirely different views on the law and society.

Metternich and his fellow-delegates shared a grand design. Their aim was to stabilise conditions in Europe for decades.

The statesmen who meet at today's so-called summits merely conceal in a smokescreen of palaver contrasting views they know full well cannot be reconciled in this way.

As a rule this failure is due in part to inadequate preparation.

The Congress of Vienna was the best-prepared conference ever held to deal with problems of such magnitude. That was why it succeeded insolving them.

A summit calls for elegance, to use an old-fashioned term, and if elegance is not to be had (and Soviet interlocutors are seldom elegant), then at least a minimum of preparatory groundwork.

Preparations must be coordinated to minimise the risk of disappointment, and it is an enormous risk at spectacular encounters between statesmen.

Richard Nixon was the best US President this century in his conduct of foreign policy, and he knew why he distrusted summit meetings the outcome of which had not be prearranged down to the smallest detail.

The more often Dr Kissinger took part in major decisions, the more he developed from a showman to a technician with a perfect line in secret diplomacy.

Expectations placed in a summit meeting must be indivisible. They have been at none of the summits held since the Second World War.

They could hardly be so because the were based on unilateral hopes by the West that were encouraged but not shared by Soviet rhetoric.

Mr Reagan has been much maligned for the harsh notes he has sounded in clashes with the Soviet Union, but he has changed the groundwork of dialogue.

He has also changed the prerequisites of summit diplomacy, although the time for summits seems not yet to have come.

Rhetoric is now pitted against rhetoric. President Reagan's rhetoric has at least contributed toward a much greater awareness of the problems of arms control and armament on the part of Western opinion.

That is a fine starting point for a future high-level dialogue, but there is no need to be overhasty.

The new Soviet leader will remain a transitional, stopgap figure. He holds power in the Kremlin but will lack a foreign policy line as long as Mr Gromyko continues to predominate, and with him the chill in East-West relations in recent years.

The Kremlin can be in no hurry to hold a fresh summit with a leadership that is only at the outset of a process of change and a leader who still needs to be given his finishing touch.

President Reagan should be in no hurry either.

Heinz Barth

(Die Welt, 17 February 1984)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Changing of the guard in Berlin: a young mayor faces his High Noon

The changing of the guard in Berlin is also a changing of the generation: Eberhard Diepgen, 43, the former CDU leader in the assembly, has taken over as mayor from Richard von Weizsäcker, who is set to become next Federal president.

The two men differ not only in age. They also have different personalities.

When asked last year what event he would have liked to have witnessed, Diepgen said "the cutting of the Gordian knot by Alexander the Great."

Von Weizsäcker would never have given such an answer. He is as little interested in the Gordian knot as in the film Diepgen has repeatedly said he wants to see: *High Noon*.

Von Weizsäcker has never been interested in trials of strength. He prefers to circumvent problems he considers insoluble.

Diepgen is also no powerhouse. But he admires those who are. Though himself a man who thinks twice, he bows to people like Alexander the Great and John Wayne with his quick draw.

Detractors might well say that people who are unsure of themselves look longingly to those who are. In conversation, however, Diepgen conveys the impression of a man who knows himself and who containly does not lack self confidence.

But the authority he will need as mayor will have to be earned. And in Berlin this can only be done by displaying personality. The Berliners expect their mayor to be outstanding both inwardly and outwardly so that they can identify themselves with him.

In September 1982, while speaking in the Bundestag on the state of the nation, Richard von Weizsäcker said: "The state of the nation revolves around Berlin. Berlin is both centre and border. Centre means attraction, which leads to desirable and undesirable influences. But it also means the chance of peaceful development.

"Border, if closed, means thinning out. Cohesive border regions are always threatened by depletion. Both the dangers and the opportunities affect not only the Berliners but all Germans. This is why we Berliners have taken the floor here. What is at stake is not local politics."

This is the yardstick that will be applied to Diepgen. Like von Weizsäcker before him, he has now for the first time in his political career assumed an unprotected and exposed position as Berlin's mayor.

For von Weizsäcker, this position was tailor made. No other post would have better enabled him to demonstrate his suitability for the presidency.

His disenchantment with party politics was in accord with his longing to be non-partisan, a man for the people, a symbolic figure and a rallying point for an all-party coalition.

The CDU has often been annoyed by von Weizsäcker's aloofness from the party hustle. But it knew very well that this very aloofness was needed for an election victory in Berlin.

This was so with Ernst Reuter and with Willy Brandt. Von Weizsäcker simply continued the tradition.

All these Berlin mayors were relatively independent of their parties. They were usually able to sidestep party interference. They could deal with local politics outside the confines of the party. They could say: "I am Berlin". They could translate words into action.

This shows some of the difficulties Diepgen will have to master.

The Social Democratic Mayor Dietrich Stobbe foundered because he could not cut the umbilical cord that tied him to those who put him in office.

This should be a warning for Diepgen who, like Stobbe, always had trailblazers at his side, friends since his student days at Berlin's Free University.

These powerful CDU men, headed by Bonn MP Peter Kittelmann and Klaus-Rüdiger Landowsky, the deputy head of the Berlin CDU, have always stood by Diepgen.

This enabled him to win the contest for the mayor's office against Education Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien.

As mayor, however, Diepgen will have to stand on his own feet. Acting just as the extended arm of a party grouping he would be unable to rally support in the city.

He must convey his image and learn to live with the loneliness of an office that leaves no room for a mingling of political and personal ties.

There is not much time for this process of cutting the umbilical cord and projecting an image.

Berlin will go to the polls in the spring of 1985. By then the man who, though quite effective behind the scenes, has no public image will have to prevent the SPD and the Greens from capturing the majority vote and creating Hesse conditions in the city.

Harry Ristock, the Social Democratic candidate, is backed by forces that favour such an experiment.

Diepgen will only be able to stand his ground if the FDP is returned to the assembly and he can continue the coalition with the junior partner.

The mayor is confident despite polls that give the liberals only four per cent of the vote — one per cent short of the magic five per cent needed for representation in the assembly.

Diepgen wants continuity, and this is rather easy to achieve considering that he played a major part in drafting von Weizsäcker's policy.

He would, however, like to intensify the social component. He wants the CDU to take over from the SPD as the working man's party.

At the moment, the SPD's decision-making bodies are dominated by the public sector workers union (ÖTV) where the skilled worker is the exception rather than the rule.

The Alternatives are in a similar position. There it is the teachers union that dominates.

Diepgen's aim is to prevent Ristock from emulating Holger Börner of Hesse and Hans Koschnik of Bremen who last year cloaked themselves in the traditional SPD mantle and thus succeeded in state elections — against all expectations.

Due to its social structure, Berlin has always tended towards the left, and this makes it particularly difficult to capture votes for the conservative camp.

The 1985 election therefore has priority for Diepgen, and the struggle for voter percentage points has already begun.

He does have a reputation of being a doer. But he still has to demonstrate that he is also a thoughtful policy shaper.

His intended policy towards the GDR is pragmatic. His concept is based on a *Deutschlandpolitik* to be drafted and implemented in cooperation with Bonn.

With his CDU/FDP Senate, the new mayor will have to solve the problems that Richard von Weizsäcker described in the Bundestag: "What is decisive is our viability. Unemployment is putting us to the test because the manufacturing industry, Berlin's most important employer, has shrunk 35 per cent in the past 11 years."

Von Weizsäcker always criticised those companies that moved their headquarters away from Berlin, leaving only the workbenches in the city.

"The decisions of the remote executive offices have always had a negative effect on Berlin's job market. It is essential for our viability to remedy this."

Diepgen won't be able to implement any more far-reaching policies than his predecessor. Instead, he will have to stick to von Weizsäcker's priorities as part of the envisaged continuity: reform of Bonn's Berlin promotion programme, austerity budget with more investment spending and more jobs.

Four thousand additional training places are to be created; and this should be coupled with a structural programme for small and medium companies.

Von Weizsäcker's idea of a "job creating link between Berlin's top research and industry" can also open up new perspectives.

But Diepgen knows that all this will not be worth the paper it is written on unless Bonn cooperates. And Bonn is cutting down on spending.

Jürgen Engert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 10 February 1984)

A step up: Berlin's new Governing Mayor, Eberhard Diepgen, and the key to the door. (Photo: Werek)

Continued from page 1

as the German inland revenue authorities are concerned, and by the next round of Franco-Federal Republic consultations at the latest Chancellor Kohl seems sure to have to make President Mitterrand a further concession.

It will be to agree to a partial abolition of the offset levy scheme for farm produce by which French farmers feel they are put to disadvantage in the market.

Herr Stoltenberg will have to meet the cost to German farmers from his VAT revenue.

European integration, it is said, lacks a sense of vision. That may well be so. But first and foremost cash is the scarcest commodity.

The spirit of the Treaty of Rome is as quiet as the grave about such mundane points.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 February 1984)

East Berlin gives short shrift to one-Germany resolution

East Berlin has replied quickly and harshly to a resolution by the three main Bundestag groups over German unification.

The resolution was drawn up by the CDU/CSU, the FDP and the SPD, the groups that "back the Constitution."

On one of the resolution's major points, a constitutionally guaranteed common German citizenship, East Berlin's reply is just a rehash of what party boss Erich Honecker said in the Gera Declaration in 1980.

A broad Bundestag majority has made it clear that the change of government in Bonn has not resulted in a confrontation that East Berlin might even have welcomed. (*Realpoliticians* in East Berlin know that they cannot — yet — seriously count on the Greens.)

In terms of East Berlin logic, a tough initial reply seemed probable.

Such a reaction would be aimed at nipping in the bud any annoyances such as appeals for peace.

Peace appeals in the East make it obvious that the search for peace cannot ignore Soviet missiles — and East Berlin's touchy leaders don't like that sort of thing.

The growing boldness of East Germans filing applications for exit visas and above all the spreading willingness to put up with the disadvantages this brings is another reason to issue a hard reply.

This could have prompted Honecker to cement "sovereignty" along the lines of the Prussian rulers, who have been quoted a lot lately.

And then there is the complicated web of East Germany's ties with Moscow.

There is the uncertainty about what will happen now that Andropov is dead.

In the circumstances, it might have been more appropriate to take the more traditional cautiously aloof stance, particularly as surprising and perhaps enticing signals are coming from Bonn.

Then if the opportunity arose for inner-German cooperation on common interests, East Germany could still grasp it later and profit thereby.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 February 1983)

■ DEFENCE

Combat strength must be boosted, says minister

The Bundeswehr faces far-reaching decisions on its peacekeeping role in the months ahead, Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has told armed forces commanders in Travemünde on the Baltic.

He and Bundeswehr Inspector-General Wolfgang Altenburg told roughly 400 generals, admirals and colonels at the 27th Travemünde conference that conventional combat strength must be boosted.

Referring to the intellectual groundwork of Bonn peace policy, Herr Wörner said a desire for peace must not be confused with a peace policy.

"The peacemaker is not someone who makes himself unilaterally defenceless, thereby throwing the door wide open to the use of force," he said.

"It is someone who pursues a level-headed policy of balancing military power and arriving at political understanding, thereby preventing the outbreak of war without forfeiting freedom."

Bundeswehr soldiers could do their job with an easy conscience. Writers such as Günter Grass and others who in the Heilbronn Declaration claimed the Bundeswehr was subject to an aggressive strategy were not telling the truth.

Before they criticised the armed forces they ought to bear the facts in mind.

He stressed that breaking the law and blockading barracks were not suitable means of conducting democratic disputes. He encouraged soldiers to go out more in uniform; they served the cause of peace and honour.

General Altenburg, dealing with Nato's fighting strength, said it could only withstand a Warsaw Pact attack for a few days using conventional weapons.

It would have to think in terms of early resort to nuclear weapons. That, he said, made the use of nuclear weapons for political purposes, be it to act as a deterrent or to end a war, problematic.

Nato needed to improve its conventional combat strength to prevent the Soviet Union from making a swift and sweeping westward advance.

What the West needed was Nato units in being and capable of reacting immediately, including defence from aerial attack.

At the same time, the general said, the Soviet land forces would need to come up against a cohesive Nato line of defence when their second wave was sent in.

Last but not least, the Soviet Union must not be allowed to interrupt to any lasting extent what for Nato are vital sea routes.

With the Bundeswehr in mind General Altenburg left no doubt that greater financial efforts needed to be undertaken if this objective was to be accomplished.

They would need to be greater than the zero growth in real terms that was currently planned for the German armed forces.

He said plans that were being drawn up at the Defence Ministry would be completed by June. Additional financial requirements could then be quantified.

He had a number of illuminating comments to make on individual aspects of the state of the Bundeswehr:

The peace debate. Armed forces were useless without firm and clear determination to defend oneself. The Sermon on the Mount was often wrongly interpreted.

The individual might be able to dispense with personal protection, but those who were responsible for their fellow-citizens, in the final analysis the state, were duty-bound to defend the next man and protect him by means of personal sacrifice if need be.

Political office-holders could not be absolved of responsibility for justifying the Bundeswehr as a political means of preserving peace.

Expressions of opinion by servicemen. Serving members of the armed forces doubtless had a right to opinions of their own, especially in the private sector.

Addressing the officer corps, General Altenburg said action would be taken against them if they were to level distorting criticism at measures taken by the constitutionally elected government.

The higher an officer's rank, the more carefully he must weigh his words in public.

Manpower. The promotion traffic jam was still a problem. Action taken so far was inadequate. The Chancellor had ordered him at the 1 February Cabinet meeting to submit proposals for a comprehensive solution.

It was not a matter of solving a social problem but of keeping the armed forces fighting fit. Ageing officers could no longer take the strain in relation to young conscripts.

There was still a shortage of 17,000 long-serving men, but the situation was improving, with more recruits coming forward and greater financial incentives to sign on for a longer period.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 15 February 1984)



Aerial arrival: Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (centre) with Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) and commander in chief of the armed forces General Wolfgang Altenburg in Travemünde, Schleswig-Holstein, where the annual commanders' congress was held. Chancellor Kohl was brought from Bonn by helicopter. (Photo: dpa)

Technology lead of Nato 'must be extended'

The Munich international defence conference showed that security policy-makers are taking a closer look at conventional arms again now the missile deployment debate is over.

That is only logical, given that the numerical imbalance in this sector between Nato and the Warsaw Pact is bound to heighten the risk of the West resorting early to tactical nuclear weapons to avert imminent defeat.

In the long run the West cannot afford to narrow down its options to this extent.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner indicated the right way to tackle the problem. Nato, he said, must use and extend its technological lead.

A number of military pundits feel the development of "intelligent" and fairly inexpensive weapons might, in the long term, for the first time ever make defending armies stronger than attackers.

But cash will be so short in the years ahead that there is no alternative to considering other "inexpensive" conventional reinforcements.

They might possibly take the form of more flexible tactics, which has traditionally been a strong point of the West's.

So much will need doing in the years ahead, major tasks for Manfred Wörner, a man felt by many not long ago to be a political has-been. *Arnd Bäucker*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 February 1984)

Options open to peace movement

Will the peace movement's hopes come back to life like crocuses in bloom when spring comes? Many delegates to the two-day action conference in Cologne may have felt so.

The peaceniks have an ambitious programme for 1984: campaigns in spring and autumn, a referendum they plan to organise and a total conscientious objection campaign.

In effect their plans are much the same as ever. Yet doubts are called for.

The helplessness that beset the movement after the Bundestag vote and the deployment of the first Pershing 2s cannot be solved by fresh campaign activities.

It is more deep-seated, and defeats do not exactly motivate people. The peace movement cannot simply carry on as if nothing had happened.

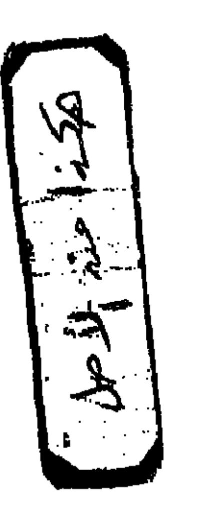
The Soviet Union has replied to the stationing of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in the West by deploying SS-21s and 22s in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Given the military facts it is steadily less credible to level criticism mainly at the firepower of US missiles and to make Soviet missiles out to be harmless or to ignore them.

The minimum consensus that has so far held the peace movement together is thus no longer enough.

If it is to survive it will need a new concept. Is must fight the arms race in both East and West and make its political, economic and social consequences clear.

Communists and radical campaigners have so far stymied any such ideas. If they continue to do so the peace movement will increasingly manoeuvre itself beyond the political pale.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 February 1984)



International conference urges stronger conventional capacity

The Americans have long urged their European partners to redouble their defence efforts. The message came over loud and clear again at the 21st Munich international defence conference.

The Munich gathering also revealed clear signs of increasingly anti-European sentiment in the United States.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner called for an improvement in the West's conventional combat strength to raise the nuclear threshold.

He appealed to the new Soviet leaders to reconsider their viewpoint.

There were roughly 140 security policy-makers from various Western countries at Munich this year, and they mainly discussed reinforcement of the West's conventional capacity.

They also dealt with modern weapons technologies capable of warding off an Eastern attack as early as possible, even in the enemy's hinterland.

The went into the effectiveness and further development of Nato's strategy of a flexible response to any Eastern attack on the West.

The views voiced by Horst Ehmke, deputy leader of the SPD Opposition in the Bonn Bundestag, prompted some heated reactions and objections, especially from Americans at the conference.

SPD security policy, they said, was dangerous and irresponsible.

Ehmke advocated a political, militaty and strategic reorientation of Nato. He accused Washington of wanting to become the No. 1 world power in military terms again.

Herr Wörner in contrast tried to emphasise points held in common with the United States. Several US Senators and defence experts stood up and applauded his speech.

He was not expecting fundamental changes in Soviet foreign and security policy after the death of Mr Andropov. He was not expecting the Soviet Union to adopt a tougher military approach either.

US Vice-President Bush, in a speech read to the conference by Senator Tower, expressed his firm hope that the Soviet Union would return to the conference table.

"We are ready and willing to negotiate with the Soviet Union on the entire

Continued on page 6

■ PERSPECTIVE

The thorny path towards reconciliation between Germany and Poland

So said Polish writer Roman Karst, deputy editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *Tworczoszcz*, in a Radio Bremen series of talks entitled Encounter with Poland.

They were broadcast in 1963 when "normalisation" by the terms of the December 1970 Warsaw Treaty was still a distant prospect.

Yet even then German publicists were felt to have made a major contribution toward understanding and reconciliation with the Polish people.

Karst's words make a fitting foreword to the newly published collection of essays commissioned by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and entitled Unusual Normalisation — Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland.

It consists of personal experiences penned by writers whose work has largely contributed toward the change in public awareness in Germany without which the understanding with Poland reached in the 1970s treaty policy would hardly have been possible.

We owe to writers such as Lodz-born Karl Dedecius, who now heads the German Poland Institute in Darmstadt, an abundance of Polish literature in translation since the early 1950s.

Dedecius was merely following in the footsteps of a fertile tradition established by German writers and poets such as Bettina von Arnim, Ludwig Börne, Adalbert von Chamisso, Georg Forster, Emanuel Geibel, Friedrich Hebbel, Heinrich Heine and others.

They all voiced solidarity with the oppressed Poles in times of national hardship brought about by the forcible division of their country.

These early efforts to foster understanding were greatly appreciated in Poland, as shown by a catalogue of Polonica published in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1946 and 1966 exhibited at the Warsaw book fair in May 1966.

"Dark and oppressive though the historic burden on German-Polish relations may be," the catalogue said, "inter-relationships in our respective literatures are both gratifying and encouraging."

This was also particularly true of endeavours by the churches in the two countries.

The first breakthrough was the Memorandum on the East issued by the German Protestant Church in October 1965, especially in its section on international law.

It dealt with a taboo on the border issue and prompted heated public debate. "It contained just what the Polish bishops had for so long hoped in vain of the German Catholic church," wrote Hansjakob Stehle, a long-serving German foreign correspondent in Warsaw.

What they had hoped for, he wrote, was "a self-critical, realistic review of the moral and legal problems of the border — with the conclusion that it would be better to forgo any claims to revise it."

On behalf of Polish fellow-citizens, Cardinal Döpfner of Munich wrote in January 1966 to Bishop Scharf of the Protestant church. He thanked the bishop for "the courageous move made from your midst."

The Polish bishops then took the initiative and wrote back: "Let us try to forget. No polemics, no more cold war; let us get a dialogue going instead."

"The destinies of our two peoples have been tragically interlinked in the past. Is it surprising that every Pole who picks up a book by a German author pays careful attention to the way in which it deals with the events that wrought such havoc in his country and Europe? Every expression of good will in German literature prompts a feeling of gratitude by the Polish reader."

They canvassed for understanding "for our fatherland, which emerged from mass murder not as a victorious country but weakened in the extreme," which was why it had an "elementary need of security."

The Polish bishops' letter also expressed appreciation of "the suffering of millions of German refugees and expellees."

The German bishops' reply was "so circumspect and diplomatic that the Polish Communists were even able to use it as an ironic jibe in the Polish bishops' direction."

Germany's Roman Catholic bishops felt obliged to hedge for domestic policy reasons and with regard for the expellees' associations.

Cardinal Wyszinski of Poland voiced frank disappointment in a letter to Cardinal Döpfner dated 5 November 1970.

"I must frankly admit to you," he wrote, "that the answer of the German bishops to our letter of reconciliation has disappointed not only the Poles but also world opinion.

"You have not taken up without reservations our hand of friendship extended so cordially."

In this letter, written two days after Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel had begun negotiating the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, Cardinal Wyszinski openly advocated support for Bonn's Ostpolitik.

"At this historic moment," he wrote, "for the first time since the dreadful events of 25 years ago and the alienation between our two peoples there seems to be a possibility of a settlement on vital issues for the Polish people and state.

"Can episcopal leaders in the Federal Republic afford to look on idly?

"In our 1965 exchange of letters we appealed for mutual reconciliation in the spirit of the Gospels and the Vatican Council.

"Negotiations are now being held to specify the political consequences of this change of heart between our two peoples.

"I feel the Church is duty-bound to point out to the government how important the impending decisions are and to ensure that we don't pass by or lag behind this historic event."

A great service to the cause of reconciliation was done by a group of critical Catholics led by Walter Dirks, Gottfried Erb and Norbert Greinacher and known as the Bensberg Circle.

They wrote a March 1968 Memorandum of German Catholics on Polish-German Issues which, as Erb put it, continued "what the Protestant memorandum had alaready begun."

It partly offset a deficit on the Catholics' part that the German bishops were unable to offset in their reply to the Polish bishops' letter.

These intensive endeavours could not fail to have an effect on the general public. A change of opinion gradually occurred that was registered by the Allensbach market research organisation at the end of 1967 as follows:

Fifty-three per cent of West Germans were in favour of recognising the Oder-Neisse line as the border between Germany and Poland for the sake of reconciliation with Poland.

Only 33 per cent were opposed to the idea.

"The Bensberg Circle merely voiced in public what had previously been admitted off the record at best. As a result the memorandum came as a relief to many."

In this way, as a result of courageous initiatives by social forces from the para-political sector, the groundwork was laid for the crucial move in "unusual normalisation," the treaty policy pursued by the Social and Free Democratic coalition led by Chancellor Willy Brandt.

"Social Democratic foreign policy is mostly a bold venture," writes Erich Brost, publisher of the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*.

"It must always be a policy of peace and understanding yet cannot be pursued in isolation and heedless of the policies of other political parties and the views of the general public."

The picture that flashed round the world: In 1970, Chancellor Willy Brandt kneels before the memorial to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Before the war Herr Brost was a Danzig journalist. He wrote for the *Danziger Volksstimme* and was a member of the city council.

He championed the cause of German-Polish understanding and intensified ties between German Social Democrats and Polish Socialists during his years in exile in Poland, Sweden, Finland and Britain.

These ties made it easier to come to terms after the war.

Links with the Polish government in exile in London were forged by the former editor of *Dziennik Poznanski* and chairman of the peace conference preparatory commission, Jozef Winiewicz.

He returned to Poland in 1945 and was appointed Polish ambassador to the United States. Under Foreign Minister Rapacki and his successors he served as Deputy.

Winiewicz was the man who wrote the original drafts of the Rapacki plans for a thinning-out of East Bloc and Western forces in Central Europe.

He was also the Polish negotiator of the terms of the settlement reached by the two countries during Willy Brandt's term as Bonn Chancellor.

It is surely no coincidence that publicists such as Marion Dönhoff, Erich Brost, Peter Bender, Hansjakob Stehle, Karl Dedecius and Werner Plum had mixed feelings about recent events in Poland.

But after spending decades in the service of German-Polish understanding they spoke out against emotional exaggeration and above all were opposed to the imposition of sanctions.

They know from personal experience that the only way to promote change in the East is to observe restraint. Pressure, in the form of sanctions, will only strengthen the hand of forces opposed to change and reform.

Ungewöhnliche Normalisierung — Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu Polen (Unusual Normalisation — Relations between the Federal Republic of Germand and Poland), edited by Werner Plum for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and published by Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, Bonn, 326pp, cloth, DM19.80.

In spite of the sympathy everyone may have felt toward the independent Polish trade union, Solidarity, they all knew there was a limit beyond which no-one could go.

Given Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact and its geopolitical situation there was bound to be one, although no-one exactly knew where it lay as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

After experiences with the Czech reform movement in 1968 one was bound to have increasing doubts as to the political wisdom of Solidarity leaders who made exaggerated demands.

To want everything is to jeopardise what has already been achieved.

Viewed in this light General Jaruzelski was the last Polish card. He is more of a tragic figure than a born dictator and it is hard to disagree with Werner Plum in his assessment:

"In a grotesque contradiction the Polish army keeps the Polish people in unfreedom while ensuring Poland's freedom. It is a Polish general who seized power for himself and his army in Warsaw.

"In 1981 it looked distinctly possible that a Soviet general and the Red Army might be seizing power."

Hans-Georg Glaser

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 6 February 1984)

■ MINORITY GROUPS

A teacher reflects as homeward-bound Turkish children depopulate a school

Mannesmann, the huge heavy engineering firm, is cutting back its payroll. Many Turks have accepted cash severance terms and are returning to Turkey. Hannelore Schulte, a teacher at a school in Duisburg-Hüttenheim where 80 per cent of the pupils are Turkish, here describes for *Die Zeit* her feelings as the children leave the school in droves to go back to Turkey with their parents.

By the end of the school year there will be no more than six or seven children left in several classes at my elementary school in Duisburg-Hüttenheim.

The reason: Turkish children are returning with their parents to Turkey: the exodus has begun in this part of the city, where whole blocks have been occupied for years by Turks.

Windows have been stripped of their curtains. Outside there are piles of crates and cartons waiting to be taken away.

Duisburg department stores keep delivering goods that will be taken back to Turkey: washing machines, TV and video sets and complete living room suites.

Most people living here work for the Mannesmann company which has been reducing its payroll for months.

Nobody is to be fired. Generous severance payments are offered.

There has been talk among both Turks and Germans of huge sums, which has fuelled the anti-Turkish sentiments of many German workers.

Our school, with its 80 per cent Turkish enrolment, was unperturbed when the situation arose.

We expected no problems when the company presented its proposals and offered to talk things out with the Turkish workers.

Then the personnel department expected that some 300 Turks would accept the offer and go home. But more than 900 have.

We teachers are busy making out transfer certificates and thinking of the mid-1970s when so many Turks arrived that it became a topic of national discussion.

We felt like educational pioneers because none of us were trained to teach German as a foreign language.

There was no teaching material for this target group and none of us knew anything about the Turkish language structure. The children's mentality was strange to us, and the parents' attitude towards the school was aloof.

Those were tough years. And we felt left in the lurch until special courses were offered and suitable books provided.

We wanted to integrate the Turks. But the illusions gave way to realism.

Both us and the Turkish families have learned a great deal from each other.

Perhaps it is the problems of those first years that now make it so hard for us to part from "our" Turks.

For the children, the few years they spent in Germany will be just another mosaic stone in their lives. They are looking forward to the change.

Nebahat will see her grandparents, whom she knows only from photographs, for the first time. Mehmet looks forward to having a cat.

The older girls have some reservations. "I would have liked to have finished school here," says Fatima, who started in secondary school this year.

I cannot help thinking of beautiful Tülay, the intelligent and pretty Dilek and the lively Yasmin. What awaits them? A too-early marriage, children?

Will these bright girls with their eagerness to learn soon turn into fat, worn down women like most of their mothers?

There is not much merry anticipation among the adults. They are quiet and thoughtful, wondering how long all that money will really last once it has to stretch beyond the immediate family to provide for a horde of relations.

What sort of a reception will there be once they are no longer the rich visiting relatives from Germany but possible competitors on the job market?

A Turkish father who has lived in Germany for 19 years told me he would like to stay. He, his children and even his wife have been happy in Germany, he says.

But looming unemployment in Germany and the fear of missing some boat in Turkey have prompted him to return after all.

The trek is on, and nobody wants to be left alone in an empty apartment house.

"It's a pity," say some fathers on having to say goodbye.

A Turkish colleague put into words what many of these people feel: "When we're in Germany we're homesick for Turkey. And when we're in Turkey we're homesick for Germany." The word she used was actually "homesick."

The Germans in Hüttenheim are also beginning to think. Many will feel the pinch of 4,000 people leaving within four weeks: The Turkish doctor will feel it. So will the service station, the pub and the grocer.

Landlords are already considering tearing down buildings because of the cost of renovating.

Teachers and parents exchange addresses and we promise to visit Turkey. We worry about the uncertain future of the children even though we have to admit that their life in Germany would certainly have had its problems.

"Many people are fed up," says a young Turk. He points to factory toilets with their anti-Turkish graffiti and the endless anti-Turkish jokes told at work.

"Have you ever seen how a salesgirl reacts when faced with a big Turkish family out shopping?"

This is all part and parcel of living in a city with more than 40,000 Turks. Our school has also had its share of nasty graffiti — and they aren't written by children.

But there are also other experiences. School and block parties with shish kebab and Turkish bread, sweets dripping with honey and girls in their colourful harem trousers and waistcoats.

Or take a day last summer, a Sunday. The backyards of the "Turkish block" in Hüttenheim rang with the noise of playing children. The garbage cans were overflowing. Women crouched on the ground, knitting, crocheting and gossiping. Laundry fluttered from end to end and sheepskins hung out of open windows. In the midst of the playing children a group of men played cards.

"Ögretmen, ögretmen!" (teacher, teacher) the children called to me, grabbing my hand and dragging me to the women.

I admired their handiwork and with much sign language and the few words we knew of each other's language we managed a little chat. I had a feeling of being far away in some holiday spot.

Only a few blocks further along, there was a small whitewashed German home, the lawn and hedge manicured, flowers in orderly ranks, a small German girl pedalled her tricycle back and forth — alone.

Hannelore Schulte

(Die Zeit, 10 February 1984)

Foreign women worst hit by isolation, says report

Foreign women in Germany find it harder than men to cope with an alien country.

They are less able to integrate and feel more isolated.

And, says a study by Cologne University's Institute for Social Psychology, the foreign woman's immediate family is a hindrance rather than a help.

The report, released by North Rhine-Westphalia's Social Affairs Minister, Friedhelm Farthmann, says Turkish women are worst hit by the isolation in an alien industrial society.

The confrontation with strange values can make them so insecure that "they give in to resignation and withdraw."

Contacts with Germans — in the rare cases where the patriarchal family structure permits them — often fails because of both language problems and foreign women whose life is entirely centred on the husband the report says.

An added strain is caused by the excessive expectations their families pin on their stay in Germany.

The cost of living is high and eats up most of the husband's pay. Savings for a future in the home country mostly fall short of target.

Farthmann: "The people know what their earnings are but they underestimate their spending."

Working women have to cope with the heavy dual burden of a job plus running the entire household unaided.

The children of foreigners often make their mothers feel inferior: "Their better knowledge of German and higher education make many children look down on their often uneducated mothers. The children feel superior and frequently become overbearing."

About 1.4 million (30 per cent) of Germany's 4.5 million foreigners live in North Rhine-Westphalia, the nation's most populous and industrialised state; 45 per cent of them (573,400) are women.

The 136,000 Turkish women are the largest foreign female group, followed by Yugoslavs and Greeks.

A study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, also commissioned by Farthmann, shows that it is above all Turkish men who are against their women working.

According to this study, 72 per cent of North Rhine-Westphalia's 33,600 Greek women have jobs, compared with less than 61 per cent of Turkish women.

Foreign women hesitate to take advantage of the many opportunities to join conversation groups, courses and other recreational activities offered by the municipalities and private organisations.

Most who do seize this chance to overcome their isolation have lived in Germany for more than five years and are as Farthmann put it, "rather progressive."

The Cologne Institute estimates the number of women who take part in these activities at 17,000 (only three per cent of the 573,400 foreign women in North Rhine-Westphalia).

Even so, Farthmann spoke of an "encouraging trend" in view of the fact that two-thirds of the interested women are Turkish.

Sewing courses are the most popular of the 725 courses reviewed by the Cologne team. They account for 25 per cent of the participants.

Farthmann said it was a "grotesque misunderstanding" to assume that the financial incentives for repatriation provided by the Bonn government would even begin to solve the foreigners' problems.

He said that only 30,000 of the 4.5 million foreigners in Germany were eligible and that only 3,200 applications had been approved so far.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 2 February 1984)

Continued from page 4

range of arms control and arms limitation," he said.

He criticised the Europeans for not doing enough to defend themselves. Further increases in the US contribution to Nato defences would only be possible "if efforts can be seen to be coming from both sides."

Edward Rowny, the chief US delegate at the Start talks in Geneva, sounded an optimistic note on the continuation of missile talks with the Russians.

The Bonn government's disarmament delegate, Friedrich Ruth, saw the Soviet return to the Vienna troop cut talks on 16 March as a further sign that Moscow would be returning to both Start and the medium-range missile talks.

Herr Wörner said the West's strategic reliance on early use of nuclear weapons must be reduced as far as possible. The use of modern technologies offered a particularly realistic prospect of heightening the conventional combat strength of Western armed forces more effectively (including cost-effectiveness).

The Bonn government saw no alternative to the flexible response strategy. An end to the conventional imbalance in Europe was called for; it was the real danger that faced Western Europe.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 February 1984)

■ BUSINESS

Technology in 21st century: Germany catches the boat

The writer, Meinhard Miegel, is head of the Institute for Economic and Social Policy, Bonn. He wrote this article for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.*

A country as highly developed and export-dependent as West Germany must maintain its international competitiveness.

So any drop, or suggestion of a drop in competitiveness triggers an alarm. There is a rush to set things right.

If the alarm bells are sounded too loud, the effect could be the opposite of what was intended.

The nation's industrial reputation could become tarnished.

The technology discussion since the beginning of the 1980s is a prime example of how not to conduct such a discussion.

Some people have been sometimes hysterical in forecasting a regression to a technological Stone Age when what is needed is detached diagnosis and therapy.

Those who say that dramatising is necessary to shake people up are wrong. They underestimate the suggestive power of such dramatisation, and they overlook the fact that, sooner or later, people will believe words rather than realities.

Recent American commentaries show how far this process has progressed both at home and abroad.

A prominent NBC commentator was not contradicted when he claimed that Germany had fallen far behind in the technological race of the 21st century and that its industry was reeling.

An equally prominent commentator of the *New York Times* wrote that Germany was suffering from acute intellectual anaemia and entrepreneurial timidity.

No serious observer of conditions in Germany will say that all is well with our economic dynamism and innovativeness.

It is also undisputed that Germany's science and industry have fallen considerably behind in some — not all — technologies of the future.

But there are clear indications that Germany is about to narrow the gap or even overtake in some areas.

Technological successes in such fields as electronic data processing, videotext and industrial robots speak for themselves.

Ability to improve conventional products and market them is as important as progress in some technologies of the future when it comes to assessing Germany's competitiveness.

One of the most remarkable examples here is the renaissance of the textile industry. It was pronounced dead years ago but has risen from the ashes to become an export hit.

Thanks to the most up-to-date technologies and processes, a branch of industry which was said to have no future in modern industrialised countries is booming once again.

Naturally, the production of motor vehicles, electrical goods, precision mechanics, optical instruments, machine tools, chemicals and pharmaceuticals and, lately, aircraft and even weapons is much more important in terms of volume. It is also undisputed that Germany holds unchallenged top places in these fields.

The continuously rising export quota since the beginning of the 1980s is a sound indicator of the competitiveness of these products.

The fact is that the German export industry has been so successful as to irritate the USA, Japan and most West European countries.

Americans therefore often accuse the Japanese and the West Europeans, primarily the Germans, of letting America bear the burden of basic research. They are said to harvest where they did not sow by using latest US technologies to further develop or improve their own conventional products.

The accusation is not quite unfounded. There is no disputing the fact that the Japanese and in some instances the Germans are in a better position to use conventional and modern technologies, as in the case of computer-controlled internal combustion engines.

While the Americans have dropped to a relatively low level in the further development of such conventional products, the Japanese and the Germans are making good money with them world-wide.

In the field of applied technology, the Americans have at least as much catching up to do as do the Europeans in some fields of basic research.

In addition, the planning of complex systems that include recycling and environmental aspects has become a forte of European and, above all, German technology.

In any event, there is an increasing demand for German goods when it comes to erecting complete industrial plants, communications networks, nuclear power stations and high tension electrical installations.

This is not surprising when seen in the light of Europe's cultural and economic background.

The Europeans, especially those in particularly densely populated areas, have been forced for centuries to preserve resources and to operate within complex systems in the broadest sense.

Since this ability will gain in importance, the number of decisive impulses from Europe is bound to grow.

The USA exemplifies the speed at which trends can change.

In the late 1970s, many experts held that America had missed the technological boat. Now, it is hailed as the spearhead of technological progress.

It took the Americans no time at all to prove their technological prowess.

But this applies only to certain kinds of technology. In other fields that require a more integrated and complex technology, the Europeans in general and the Germans in particular could easily repeat the American feat.

Conditions for this are not bad. In any event, fears that Germany has lost the technology race for the 21st century are unfounded.

Meinhard Miegel

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 10 February 1984)

From prototype to production 'too slowly'

The inscription Made In Germany once indicated quality. Not so much now.

Germany is being outpaced in several fields of modern technology, mostly by the Americans and the Japanese.

Some experts now even say that Germany actually depends on imports of high-tech. This is fodder for the pessimists who visualise new economic crises if the country misses the boat in such fields as micro-electronics, telecommunications and biotechnology.

But giving in to this sort of pessimism is ignoring the realities of the situation.

It is true that some industries need to improve their high-tech performance. But the success of exports last year shows that Germany is still competitive.

It is true that the high rate of the dollar helped in some areas, but that is only a partial explanation.

But the pessimistic warnings are justified in the sense that Germany must face up to the technological challenge if it is to remain competitive. And in certain areas, it does need to catch up.

Too much money is still being put into dying industries such as steel, coal and shipbuilding although everybody agrees that production costs are much cheaper abroad despite the subsidies. Subsidies are given because of the thousands of jobs at risk. But spending money here means that it can't be spent elsewhere in growth industries.

Instead of haggling over orders on shrinking markets, more use should be made of the existing innovative potential.

There is no shortage of engineers and research successes. In this field, Germany matches the USA and Japan.

But they are ahead when in applying these technologies to production processes and products that will sell on international markets.

In other words, Germany takes too long to develop a prototype into an assembly line product.

But Germany seems to be on the right track. Word has got around that the secret of America's high-tech success is the intensive interplay of industry and science.

This shortens the time lag between the development and the application of new technologies.

It is common practice for American scientists to go from research laboratories to industry. Theory is thus constantly being tested in practice.

There is yet another difference: there is a widespread fear, often due to ignorance, of new technologies in Germany. The Americans, on the other hand, handle them as an everyday aid at work.

Small wonder then that the American example is finding imitators in Germany. Now, every German state wants to have its own Silicon Valley.

These attempts to close the technology gap are praiseworthy provided we remember that the mere copying of American models is of no use.

Silicon Valley did not happen overnight.

It will take time before Germany can reap what is being sowed. But the very fact that weak points have been located and a new course charted boils down to progress.

Carola Böse-Fischer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 February 1984)

■ BUSINESS

Sixth generation of Ibachs takes pianos out to the world

Once a year, Christian Ibach, 44, heads west to sell pianos. His four-week trip usually takes him to Britain and from there to the USA, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Korea, Thailand and Singapore.

A medium-sized company like the Ibach factory in Schwelm needs such personal contacts with the customers to sell its product. What matters is to make the customer understand that what he gets for his money is a top quality instrument.

Christian Ibach, who heads the company together with his brother Rolf, 42, — they are the sixth generation of Ibach piano makers — told *Handelsblatt* that his company does not attempt to sell through price concessions. Nor does he let dealers have his instruments on a sale or return basis.

Competition is stiff, and only top quality offers a chance of survival. As an Ibach brochure puts it: "Quality is the result of experience and craftsmanship, science and technology."



On song. Piano tuner gets the note just right. (Photo: Ibach)

Christian Ibach has plenty of experience — not only in foreign sales (he spent years in South Africa) but also in manufacturing and retailing. The company also has its own music shops.

Sales promotion includes inviting dealers to South Africa to inspect the Piano Manufacturers of South Africa. Pty. Ltd., Wellington, Cape Province, which used to be a 50 per cent Ibach subsidiary.

The company's Wuppertal music shop handles imports — and not only from South Africa. But these imported pianos are not sold under the Ibach name.

Unlike the South African instruments, those imported from South Korea are made without the benefit of Ibach's know-how.

South Korean pianos are cheap, costing between DM4,800 and DM5,500.

Both the Wuppertal music shop and the company as a whole are described by Christian Ibach as "rather successful."

But success does not come of its own accord. It calls for ever new ideas and flexibility.

Ibach now contemplates having his instruments for the East Asian markets made under licence in South Korea under the very nose of the Japanese.

Only a couple of years ago, all was well with Germany's piano industry, he says.

Between 1975 and 1981, output and sales rose by 20 per cent.

But piano buyers — mostly middle class people — have become thriftier and it has become hard to make them spend between DM9,000 and DM12,000 for a good instrument. Ibach attributes this to the advent of video.

The high cost of a top rate German instrument gave foreign suppliers a chance to gain a foothold on the German market. The cheap products come from Japan, Korea and Finland. East German pianos sold under the label "German quality product" can be had for a little as DM3,000.

When the West German instrument makers charged their GDR counterparts with dumping, the East Germans promised to mend their ways.

But Christian Ibach doubts that the East German exporters will stick to fair competition rules.

The GDR sold 3,469 pianos in West Germany in 1982 compared with 2,716 the year before. A total of 27,000 pianos were sold in West Germany in 1982, down from 34,000 a year earlier.

Christian warns against buying second hand pianos imported from Britain.

These instruments, mostly about 60 years old, sell for DM2,500 to DM3,000. But they are totally worthless because they can no longer be tuned. Says Ibach: "They are fit only for the scrap heap."

Despite the decline in the past couple of years, Ibach is cautiously optimistic about the future of Germany's piano industry.

His prices were raised 3.5 to 4 per cent at the beginning of the year. Last year, there was no scope for price increases.

Christian now wants to devote himself more to the foreign business. He has no problems with foreign languages and mentalities; he knows his customers as well as he knows his competitors; and he is well aware that "the market has to be captured anew day after day."

His sights are now set on the difficult American market. "We want to plug the hole made in 1982/3 by the drop in sales to France (down 45 per cent) and Italy (down 38 per cent)."

The USA has about ten to 15 piano makers who produce some 170,000 instruments a year. The world output is estimated at 850,000. Japan accounts for 300,000, Korea for 130,000 and Europe for 50,000.

A comparison: Some 180,000 pianos a year were sold in pre-World War I Germany. Present sales are 27,000.

Decline in 1920s

The big decline in the German piano industry started in the late 1920s when there are said to have been some 1,000 manufacturers. They have dwindled to about a dozen.

Only those managed to survive who rationalised their production in time.

It was not until the beginning of the 1950s that Adolf Ibach (today chairman of the advisory board of Rud. Ibach Sohn Pianofortefabrik GmbH) resumed production. World War II had destroyed the old factory down to the bare walls.

In 1983 sales stood at about DM11m (1979: DM12m).

Exports accounted for 46 per cent, with a steep rise in sales to non-European countries.

The company's work force of 95 makes five uprights and 1.2 grands a day.

Skilled workers are still hard to get. It took Ibach more than six months to find a tuner and voicer.

The company was founded in 1794 by Johannes Adolph Ibach under the name of Adolph Ibach & Sohn. Today, it ranks among the few piano makers of world repute.

The company history is essentially the history of modern piano making.

"What we do today is assembly line production with lots of individuality," says Christian Ibach.

At the Frankfurt Musical Instruments Fair (the world's biggest) earlier this month, Ibach came up with a new type of stall to make it easier for potential customers to judge the sound of the instruments.

Günter Ringle

(Handelsblatt, 3 February 1984)

A sweeter note than last year

Most exhibitors at the International Musical Instruments Fair earlier this year were satisfied — particularly foreign instrument makers.

The general feeling was that it was an improvement on last year.

Demand was particularly good for orchestra electronics and electronic keyboard instruments. Music publishers and makers of wind instruments also did well.

There were 48,000 visitors, 20 per cent more than last year.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 February 1984)

■ MOTORING

Volkswagens roll off the Nissan assembly line

Nine Wolfsburg engineers have spent over two years helping Nissan to prepare for the manufacture of the first Volkswagen in Japan.

At present only 80 to 100 a day run off the same assembly line as the Nissan Sunny at the company's modern Zama works.

In details that extend as far as the interior fittings the Japanese Santanas are the spitting image of the model made in Germany.

Views differed for a while in Wolfsburg and Tokyo on whether the Santanas manufactured under licence were to be carbon copies of the German Santana or to be given a Japanese look.

The differences of opinion were one reason why the first VW made in Japan was unveiled four months behind schedule by the second-largest Japanese car manufacturer.

Volkswagen steadfastly resisted attempts by the Japanese to cater for Japanese motorists' keen interest in a dashboard bristling with impressive but superfluous lamps and switches.

Even such minor changes were vetoed. Santanas made in Japan were not going to have dashboards that resembled airliner cockpits.

VW were determined not to let the logo be diluted by product modifications. They also supplied Nissan's advertising managers with a powerful sales slogan: German Quality with the Bouquet of the Romantic Road.

The Romantic Road, or route, is a tourist trail round picture-postcard areas of Germany.

No-one is saying how narrow Nissan have kept profit margins. Harry Bausch, sales director of VW Asia Ltd, set up in Tokyo last year, feels retail prices are in keeping with the market.

He reckons the Santana stands a fair chance of making an impact in a part of the market with "volume sales."

The de luxe versions of comparable Japanese models that sell well now cost the equivalent of between DM 20,000 and DM 27,000.

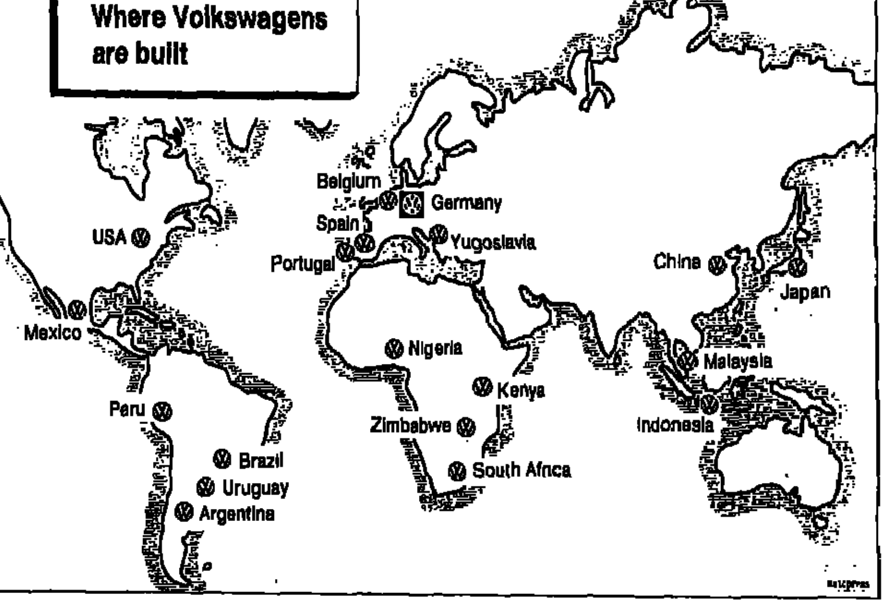
Nissan have deliberately kept within this range. The 10 Santana versions, starting with the 1.8-litre Santana Li, which comes with air conditioning and radio as standard fittings, sell for between DM 23,000 and DM 29,000.

Longer runs and the projected reduction in the percentage of German-made parts (currently about 30 per cent, including engine, gearbox and steering) could cut costs further.

VW-Audi still account for the lion's share, roughly 40 per cent, of the modest and of late declining market for imported cars in Japan.

Last year only 35,000 imported cars were sold. But BMW Japan Corp. are growing faster, with a growth rate last year of 20 per cent.

In 1978 Volkswagen sold 20,000 private cars in Japan via their sole importer Yanase. Last year the figure was down to 13,000.



The Santana, profits from the sales of which will largely go to Nissan, will, it is hoped, send sales figures up again and boost sales of VW models imported from Germany.

Nissan expect a twofold benefit from the joint project: a sales boost and addition to their domestic range, and a quality boost plus access to German know-how.

Nissan president Takashi Ishihara has told the Press that after having lost ground to Toyota again last year (Nissan now only account for 28 per cent of domestic car sales) the company hopes the Santana will be a promising addition to the Nissan range.

Nissan are also keen to develop and improve quality and show ready interest in Volkswagen know-how.

The Santana, for instance, is the first car made in Japan with a plastic fuel tank — an idea on which Nissan and other manufacturers have been working for some time.

dpa/vwd

(Mannheimer Morgen, 8 February 1984)

VW in huge vans-for-engines deal with East Berlin

Volkswagen have agreed with the GDR to supply VW vans and other vehicles to East Germany in return for VW engines manufactured under licence on an assembly line supplied by the West German company.

If the agreement goes ahead as planned it will be the second major deal between Volkswagen and the GDR. In 1977 10,000 VW Rabbits were sold to East Germany.

The contract as envisaged will be worth about DM600m. If it is signed this summer a first instalment of 2,000 VW vans could be shipped to the GDR later this year.

It would be followed by shipments of 2,300 Volkswagen transporters a year from 1988 to 1993, or nearly 14,000 more.

Last year VW boosted transporter sales in the Federal Republic from 55,700 to 69,200, an increase of 24 per cent after a particularly poor 1982.

The GDR contract would definitely improve output at the Hanover works where VW vans are manufactured. Jobs have been axed there for years, and workers have repeatedly been put on short shifts.

In return the GDR is to supply 100,000 VW engines (engines only, with no extras such as radiator, starter, dynamo and so on).

They will be manufactured on an assembly line that is to be dismantled in Hanover and re-erected somewhere in the GDR.

As the assembly line's capacity is well over 100,000 a year the GDR will be able to manufacture 1.05-litre and 55hp 1.3-litre VW engines (the engine of the basic Polo version and an optional Polo and Rabbit engine respectively) for its own use.

Experts feel these engines could at best be put under the bonnet of the Wartburg, but not under that of the Trabant, which currently houses a 26hp two-stroke engine.

The Trabant would have an engine far too powerful for its body if it were to be fitted out with VW engines manufactured under licence.

If the GDR were to have any intention of exporting GDR-made VW engines or cars fitted out with VW engines it would have to conclude a more far-reaching licence agreement.

There is also a Comecon agreement on the division of labour in the motor industry the exact details of which are not known in the West. But it is reasonable to assume that the GDR cannot go ahead and manufacture a new range of private cars without first coming to terms with its Comecon partners.

Volkswagen have been assured that the Bonn government will stand surety in respect of the engine works that is to be shipped to the GDR.

A spokesman for the company has said he sees no detrimental effect of the contract on the job situation at VW.

There might merely be a slight improvement in capacity utilisation at Volkswagen's Salzgitter works.

Would VW's West German suppliers be affected in any way? That, he said, could only be judged once details of the contract were available.

A number of suppliers are worried that their business with Volkswagen will be hit by the deal with the GDR. Fears of this kind have been voiced by the foundry industry, for instance.

Otherwise VW's business with the GDR has not been too exciting in recent years, which is hardly surprising given how short East Berlin is of hard currency.

Volkswagen's last major deal with the East Germans was in 1977 when 10,000 VW Rabbits were supplied and sold in a matter of days at 10,000 GDR marks each.

The GDR sold them on the basis of a nominal exchange rate of par (for optical and ideological reasons), although in terms of purchasing power a Western deutschemark ought to have been worth at least three GDR marks.

Rabbit owners in the GDR say the car has given sterling service, which is probably one of the reasons why the GDR decided in favour of doing business with Volkswagen again rather than foreign bidders such as Renault and Mazda.

(Handelsblatt, 10 February 1984)

New pint-sized model unveiled

The new VW compact runabout, here unveiled in prototype at the Volkswagen research centre in Wolfsburg, is only 3.13 metres (10ft 3in) long. The Student is 52cm, just over 20 inches, shorter than the Polo. It is a two-door model with two makeshift seats at the rear that can be separately reclined to increase luggage space. Design targets are high performance, low consumption and low-cost manufacture. The model was available in prototype in spring 1982 but not shown at last year's Frankfurt motor show, where a similar Opel model created a sensation.

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 February 1984/Photo: Volkswagenwerk)

■ THE ARTS

Max Beckmann's demons on a metaphysical battlefield

Three loners parted company with expressionism at an early stage in their painting careers. They were Oskar Kokoschka, Carl Hofer and Max Beckmann.

Kokoschka returned to the techniques of late impressionism. Hofer and Beckmann were realists who developed in the direction of *Neue Sachlichkeit.*

Hofer preferred harmonious, melancholic moods. Beckmann, whose birth centenary year it is, constantly dealt with the demons of what he felt was a relentless, self-destructive world.

The more he sought "to capture the likeness of the unspeakable things of life" the more keenly he felt a sense of shock about life and the more determined he was to "confine, oppress and impose a stranglehold" on the "convulsive monster" of life.

For Max Beckmann the canvas was a metaphysical battlefield. This outlook was largely a result of his experiences in the First World War, in which he served in field ambulance units in East Prussia and Flanders.

He was born in Leipzig on 12 February 1884. His parents came from Lower Saxony. He went to art college in Weimar in 1899.

The Deutscher Künstlerbund accepted his *Badende Männer am Meer* (Men Bathing By the Sea), giving an unknown young artist an accolade.

He lived in Hermsdorf, Berlin, until the outbreak of the First World War. He began by arguably following in the footsteps of Lovis Corinth, but during the war he arrived at formal ideas of his own.

They included stereometric features and mask-like, punched-up figures.

Under the impression of senseless mass death in action Beckmann lost his naive belief in the harmony of creation.

He was discharged in 1915 after a nervous breakdown.

He then went to Frankfurt, where he taught painting at the municipal art college from 1925 to 1932.

Hounded from his job by the Nazis, he emigrated to Amsterdam in 1937, where he used an old tobacco warehouse as a studio.

In 1947 he accepted a job as a university professor in St Louis. A year later he decided to stay in America for good.

When he died, on 27 December 1950, he was working as a teacher at the Brooklyn Art School in New York.

He regarded Grünewald, Brueghel and van Gogh as his antecedents because they had felt reality to be as inexorable and chaotic as he had.

His attempts to capture things, to change proportions, his stark exaggeration of forms, surfaces and lines served the purpose of revealing the background of human tragedy.

He abhorred sentimentality of any kind. Initially he felt form was more important than colour, but he attached increasing importance to colour as a means of emphasising the plasticity and rounded nature of what he depicted.

That accounts for the change in his colour preferences from his Amsterdam days onward, heightening contrast by using pure colours, combining hot and cold colours and stressing light and shade by means of brighter colour. In his early work Beckmann had foreseen coming catastrophes. His urban landscapes in the 1920s with their empty rows of houses and threatening walls anticipated changes and the disastrous air raids of the Second World War. Beckmann depicted victims and hangmen, suffering, tired and blind people, rampant, animal figures and butchers of men who eagerly went about their gory handwork. In nudes he preferred powerful, Rubens-like forms expressing strength, energy and sensuality.


Max Beckmann's 'Selbstbildnis mit Sektglas' (1919), oil on canvas. (Photo: Catalog.)

Conflict with his environment is strikingly shown in his many self-portraits as a clown or with a saxophone, in a dinner jacket or overcoat or, as in his later work, hidden by shadows.

He portrayed himself as vigilant, without illusions and even brutal, a defiant rebel against failed creation.

High points of his work included the new-look triptyches, which were not painted to commission. They depicted

Continued on page 11

Kandinsky and Russia's other revolution

Kandinsky is represented by a blue horseman at the Cologne exhibition of turn-of-the-century Russian painting in the Josef Haubrich Gallery.

It may be a knight fighting a dragon, probably St George; and as it is dated 1915 it came much later than the famous Munich *Blauer Reiter.*

But it is a very welcome exhibit at the Cologne show, giving a measure of meaning and significance to the exhibition.

By this time Kandinsky had returned to Russia. It is a backward-looking, quasi-romantic, fairy-tale painting harking back to a period in his work he might have been felt to have surpassed. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the work of Malevich. It is on view at the exhibition of Masterpieces of Russian Painting from the End of the 19th Century to the Beginning of the 20th. All are on loan from the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow and the Russian Museum in Leningrad. The exhibition consists of 74 paintings from a revolutionary period prior to the Russian Revolution. The catalogue is compiled by Soviet experts and contains a detailed calendar of the years 1897 to 1917 with a detailed chronicle of all artistic activity, exhibitions, groups, periodicals and spokesmen for the various and interlinked artistic sectors.


Lev Bakst's 'Evening Meal' (1902) on show in a turn-of-the-century collection of Russian paintings in Cologne. (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)

But it makes no mention of Kasimir Malevich's objectless world of suprematism, of which he exhibited paintings as early as in 1915, and none of Rodchenko. Tatlin, like Malevich, Popova and others, is represented by early work influenced by cubism and other isms.

The Russian art revolution preceded the October Revolution by several years. It may only have survived it by a short period but it has long held a firm place in art history and it is not an unimportant one.

At the opening of the Cologne exhibition, impressive as it is, there were justified complaints about the neglect of Russian art in Germany in comparison with literature and music.

Pushkin, Dostoyevsky and Turgeniev are as well-known as Tschaikovsky or Stravinsky. Why not Russian painters too?

Kandinsky and Malevich expressly emphasised the Russian aspect of their discovery and were convinced that abstract expressionism and geometrical abstraction had intellectual roots in old Russia.

What was produced in the two decades at the turn of the century by means of mutual penetration and fertilisation of the Russian heritage and Western influenced can without question be set alongside Russian literature.

The representational arts were in any case closely interlinked with music, the stage and, especially, ballet.

Painters like Zerov, Vrubel, Malyavin, Archipov and Korovin rank alongside Slevogt, Liebermann and Sisley. Kuznetsov, Mashkov, Falk or Kuprin mig[ht] come from the school of Matisse.

Alexandra Exter and Lyubov Popova, Lentulov, Altman and others testify [to] fully-fledged cubism. Natalia Goncharova for a while competed with the mo[st] advanced futurists.

Larionov's rayonism is an origi[nal] achievement. The cubo-futurist pa[in]tings of Malevich make one wond[er] whether he may temporarily have be[en] influenced by Leger (or vice-versa).

Most of the artists on show (and m[any] are only represented by examples [of] their early work) can be pigeonhol[ed in] more than one school of art.

The exhibition outlines a Russi[an-]tinged development extending from [...]bis to constructivism in Western Eur[ope].

In Moscow and St Petersburg, a[s in] Paris, there was a lively coexistence, [in]terchange and succession of curr[ents] and counter-currents, experiments [and] theories that in many cases elev[ated] eclecticism to the status of style.

A truly dynamic personality, Da[vid] Burlyuk said (and he could fairly c[laim] to have been one himself), cannot b[e sa]tisfied with what we call style now[...].

Many artists whose work is on s[how] lived on until the mid-20th century[...] don't know what became of mo[st of] them, excepting only those who retu[rned] to the West such as Kandinsky, Cha[gall,] Goncharova and her husband, Mi[khail] Larionov.

We have no idea what they went o[n to] paint in the Soviet Union and wh[ether] they were allowed to do so. Some, [like] Altman and Tatlin, were activists [of] the Revolution, but that may not m[ean] much.

Others were seen again not long [ago] in the collection of Soviet ambass[ador] Semyonov, which was also exhibit[ed in] Cologne.

They included Robert Falk, Lent[ulov] and Malevich, who reverted to obje[ctivi]ty which, it turned out, was to preoc[cupy] him throughout his life. *Eo Plun[...]*

(Die Welt, 11 Februa[ry 1984])

■ LITERATURE/PHILOSOPHY

Schleiermacher's mission: to show up the cant in Kant

The world was already under the spell of Immanuel Kant when Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher began his writing career in the late 18th century. Kant had effectively attacked conventional metaphysics.

Theologian and philosopher Schleiermacher's works were an attack on the trends triggered by Kant. Schleiermacher, who died 150 years ago, on 12 February 1834, wanted, as Nietzsche put it, to "work towards the preservation of religion and theology."

Born in 1768, the son of a Silesian court preacher, Schleiermacher soon became aware of the spiritual milieu that surrounded him.

To counter the "Kantian irritation," he had to address the "victims of Kant's critiques, the educated class."

This is clearly evidenced in the title of his first major work "On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers" (1799).

Although his views changed and expanded in many ways, he always remained faithful to the style of this work, its ideas and its tone: While the line of argument was in keeping with the philosophy of the time and its striving to probe the depths, the tone was that of a preacher and, at times, accuser.

As opposed to the German Idealism which knew no worse sin that to lag behind Kant, Schleichermacher tried to gather the fragmented bits of traditional philosophy and put them together again.

He refused to accept the drifting apart of religion, art and science.

In his "Speeches on Religion" he wrote: "Therefore you will find those who have knowledge to be pious as well. And when you come across science without religion you can be certain that it is grafted or acquired; or else it is degenerate or perhaps the kind of empty pretence that is no knowledge but serves only personal needs."

Taking the future course of philosophy as a yardstick, Schleichermacher's restoration drive was a failure.

Not so his work as a theologian where he had great influence, primarily on Protestantism.

Even though he said "the Church is a prison every truly educated person must fight against," his "Theological Encyclopaedia" (1811) and "The Christian Faith" (1822) are still read and discussed in Protestant Church circles.

In 1810, he became the first dean of the theological faculty of the newly established Berlin University.

The metaphysicist Schleiermacher is unforgotten both in theological circles and among philosphers.


Friedrich Schleiermacher . . . preacher and accuser (Photo: Historia)

His Plato translation remains one of his lasting works. And even the classical scholar Nietzsche — a dyed-in-the-wool Schleiermacher foe — used them.

These translations that were made under the influence of Schlegel greatly facilitated and promoted interest in Plato's work among German speakers without a classical education.

In the last years of his life, Schleiermacher increasingly devoted himself to text interpretations and hermeneutics, the study of the methodological principles of interpretation and explanation.

In fact, his differentiation between the comparative and divinatory methods made him the virtual father of hermeneutics.

For Schleiermacher, the comparative method was based on formal comparisons of various authors while he interpreted divinatory as the "divined" uniqueness of a work.

Wilhelm Dilthey (and later Gadamer) adopted and perfected his method, fascinated by his intention to "understand an author better than he could understand himself." *Bernd Kissling*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 February 1984)

Continued from page 10

the conflict of conformation, oppression, outrage and freedom.

Shortly before his death he finished his Argonauts, a strange transformation and recreation of the Ancient World saga material in a timeless world.

In honour of his birth centenary a collection of Beckmann's 1920s work is on show in Frankfurt. The catalogue contains informative articles about his intellectual origins.

He was influenced by Taoism with its speculation about the origins of the world, the transmigration of souls and rebirth.

He was influenced by Schopenhauer's views on the influence of instinct and will. His favourite writer was Jean Paul, who described the movement of the soul after death in the universe.

Horst Hartmann

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 11 February 1984)

The late Manès Sperber, an irksome moralist

Manès Sperber died in Paris earlier this month of a severe heart disease that prevented him from personally accepting the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade last October.

His address at the award ceremony in Frankfurt's St Paul's Church, read by the French publicist Alfred Grosser, once more presented him as a brilliantly analysing chronicler of our era and an irksome moralist out of deep humanity.

All his literary works have autobiographic traits and, like his own life, they exemplify the trials and tribulations of intellectuals in this century.

The son of an Austrian rabbi was only ten when he first became a refugee. The Nazis deported him in 1933. He reached his Paris destination via Switzerland and Yugoslavia, a man whose passport was French but whose home was in the German language.

Hermann Kesten said about the novelist and essayist: "No German writer of our century has more aptly described political destinies."

Manès Sperber remained sensitive to ideological involvement and errors throughout his life.

His own experience was that of an idealistic pacifist and Marxist who broke with Communism during the Stalinist show trials to become the "political conscience" of coming generations.

Europe can save itself if it remains faithful to itself, he said.

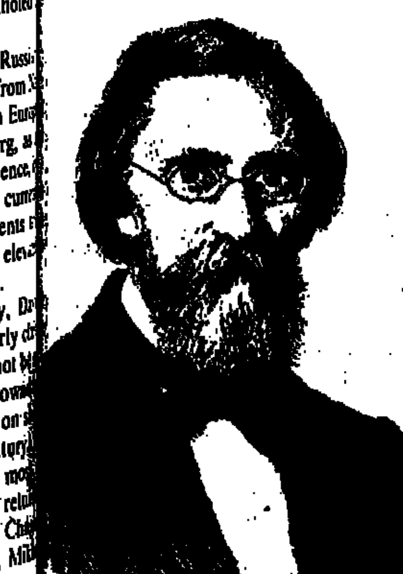
The fact that he gave intensive peace research priority over anti-nuclear protests met with resentment after his address read at the award ceremony.

The third volume of Manès Sperber's autobiography is entitled *Bis man mir Scherben auf die Augen legt* (Until they put Pennies on my Eyes).

We should pick up the pennies and read what's underneath.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 7 February 1984)

Georg Büchmann: winged words, proverbs and quotes


[Ge]org Büchmann . . . a household name (Photo: Historia)

A bastardised or misquoted proverb would send Georg Büchmann into a [ra]ge.

Büchmann, who died 100 years ago [thi]s month, had not a shred of tolerance [wh]en it came to literary quotations and [pro]verbs.

The German language, its richness [an]d its elegance, was something of a [...]al for him.

Few people have matched him in en[rich]ing the German vocabulary, and his [wo]rks became a permanent companion for generations of secondary school students in Germany.

Büchmann's rapport with language at school, his erudition and his quick wit drew admiration.

His father was a career non-commissioned army officer. His family went out of its way to enable their ambitious son to study philology and archaeology.

Georg was 23 when he earned his doctorate at Erlangen University with a dissertation of "The Characteristic Differences between the German and Slavic Languages."

His love for language research was intensified through his work in Warsaw and Paris, first as a part-time and later full-time teacher.

It was in Paris that he was inspired to write the book that became his life's work and soon earned him international fame.

France and Britain, where elegant and polished conversation was already essential among the upper classes, already had their collections of literary quotations and proverbs.

Büchmann became an admirer of Hegel's dialectics and art of debate, while he was at university.

It was almost inevitable that, while teaching at a Brandenburg secondary school and later at a vocational school in Berlin, Büchmann should have devoted himself to exact translations of quotations from foreign literature and research into the origins of German proverbs.

He went about his work with scientific accuracy and became a member of the prestigious Berlin Society for the Study of Modern Languages and Literature.

After almost 20 years of research, he published a 220-page volume with 750 interpretations of quotations and proverbs in 1863.

He himself referred to the work as "winged words," meaning words that come easily and and have an instant impact on the listener.

The book was an instant best-seller with ever new revised editions. Eventually, it became a must for every middle class home.

Büchmann's name soon became a household word for German literary quotations. Many tried to imitate him.

Towards the end of his life, he had collected and interpreted 2,260 "winged words."

His work was translated into most European languages. But the literary fame never went to his head. He remained a teacher at the vocational school even after being awarded, at age 50, the title professor, a rare distinction in those days.

The King of Prussia paid tribute to him by decorating him with the Order of the Red Eagle, the classical Prussian award for highly meritorious civil servants.

A severe accident in1877 made him an invalid, but he continued his work with a collection of fairytales he had begun years earlier.

The small volume, *Märchenbronnen,* was much hailed at the time though he never had the ambition to match the Grimm Brothers or the Swabian writer and poet Wilhelm Hauff.

When his physical strength waned and he found himself unable to continue his work, he became despondent.

Georg Büchmann died a month after his 62nd birthday. Obituaries praised him as the man who had laid a cornerstone for national education.

Franz Fegeler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 12 February 1984)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Industrial conservation: a lesson from Japan

Breweries used to pump waste such as yeast and malt grains straight down the drain, which upset ecologists. Now it is sold as fodder.

The water heated to 80°C in cooling the contents of the hop copper is no longer simply poured away either, wasting so much energy.

Many breweries now recycle it to heat the wort in the first place, thereby cutting costs.

Even the chemical industry has gone in for unaccustomed virtue, using the chlorinated by-products usually left over after plastic production processes as a raw material to manufacture hydrochloric acid, for instance.

Before these left-overs were recycled they used to be taken out to sea and pumped, say, into the North Sea as the most convenient means of disposal.

Yet chemicals manufacturers not long ago faced seemingly insuperable problems. If they were less than extremely careful in how they disposed of what was dismissed as waste they risked contaminating the woodland, soil and countryside.

But if they disposed of waste in the approved manner the cost was so high that they were up against it financially. It was hard to say what the best course of action was.

New processes have solved many problems faced by both manufacturers and ecologists, and recycling has a twofold advantage.

There are no waste problems; waste is reused. What is more, recycling has proved so successful that the cost of investing in new technologies is fast recouped.

So it isn't an invariable rule that environmentally sound production processes *must lead to higher retail prices*. The opposite could well be true.

Cost estimates may still indicate in many cases that an ecological approach is more expensive, but that could well be due to the way in which environmental conservation is formulated in this country.

Whenever a certain toxin is to be filtered out of some emission or other it is usually the industry which produces the offending substances that wields its know-how to lay down the extent to which limits are feasible.

The level of technological development is the yardstick of environmental conservation, and that has consequences. Instead of thinking in terms of new ideas industrialists rack their brains to prove improvements are impossible.

It is, of course, a tempting approach, especially as it seems to work. When more can be gained by persuading the government to provide financial incentives in return for progress in environmental conservation why should manuufacturers to make cars that did a ahead themselves?

Local authorities and government agencies may allow themselves to be convinced that targets are impracticable or uneconomic, but not the competition.

That is why the Japanese, for insttance, are a step ahead of the Germans in many sectors, such as smoke gas desulphuration, whereas others run the risk of asphyxiating in their smog.

A number of German firms are running a serious risk of missing out on innovations that may result from environmental conservation measures.

But there is no reason for resignation. More and more companies are coming to appreciate the advantages of realigning production methods by being forced to take action on environmental frounds.

Companies shaken by structural crises are finding economically meaningful extra scope for activity as a result of the growing awareness of ecological requirements.

Higher fuel prices forced motor manufacturers to make cars that did a higher mileage to the gallon, thereby opening up new markets.

Change brought about by environmental considerations today could, in much the same way, well postpone the limits to growth.

There may be few signs of this happening as yet in practice, and people may be rightly annoyed that this is the case, but that isn't to say that nothing is being done.

The Environmental Protection Agency, West Berlin, has shown that in the second half of the 1970s about 350,000 new jobs were created in bids to achieve ecological targets.

Conversely, only about 70,000 jobs were lost on environmental grounds, such as jobs in factories that processed asbestos.

This job-creating process of renewal has since gained further momentum and it is nowhere near reaching its peak yet.

Munich scientist Rainer Nolte has only recently noted in a report that virtually all industries use manufacturing processes in which environmental considerations arise.

This means that opportunities for innovation exist nearly everywhere. There is no need for an artificial programme, dubbed Apollo, to tickle the powers of invention of countless research scientists.

Such incentives are not needed to get the economic cycle back into swing. Change is imminent in any case as many accounts no longer balance.

Manufacturers used only to have to bear in mind internal expenses, such as wages and materials. External expenses, such as the cost of breathing life back into forests depleted by nitrous oxide pollution, were met by the taxpayer.

But times have changed now the damage can be quantified. Clean air used to be available free of charge. The cost of pollution today can be assessed in terms of either damage to property or health hazards.

The cost can certainly no longer be dismissed with an airy wave of the hand. The principle of making the polluter or offender liable is sure to prevail, and that alone will galvanise offenders into action.

The Japanese have shown us how to make a virtue out of necessity. It was not a matter of hard work and ability, merely that Japan was first to face the problems

Continued on page 13

Peking offers a store for nuclear waste

Peking has made what, on the face of it, is an attractive offer: that of dumping high-grade radioactive waste in the Gobi desert.

Western European countries have been offered the option of dumping an initial 4,000 tons of waste in the vast expanses of China's deserts.

It would be a lucrative deal from Peking's point of view, while capitalist power utilities could export their tiresome problem of nuclear waste disposal, including social and political consequences, to the socialist north-east of China.

There would hardly be any anti-nuclear demonstrations in the people's communes to protest against plans for nuclear waste disposal facilities in the Gobi desert.

But there is no real prospect of getting rid of the waste and the problems attached to it so easily.

The 1979 West German nuclear waste disposal concept was drawn up with them in mind. Would recycling facilities be needed in the changed circumstances?

In any case, there are long-term agreements with Britain and France on processing spent fuel rods. There are technological difficulties too.

The Chinese, who only became a nuclear power in 1964, have yet to explain how they propose to handle the difficult and dangerous process of storing the waste for good beneath the desert.

The problem is politically tricky inasmuch as Peking would have to give a firm assurance that China was not going to recycle the waste to extract its one per cent of plutonium.

One per cent of 4,000 tons would, after all, be a handsome 40 tons of the lethal stuff.

China may have joined the International Atomic Energy Authority this year but it has still to sign the non-proliferation treaty.

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang gave an assurance during his visit to the United States that China would not help other countries to develop nuclear weapons, but the NPT remains unsigned.

So the Chinese must fear that export licences for radioactive waste will not be issued for the time being despite declarations of intent.

The aim of storing capitalist waste to earn the foreign exchange needed to embark on socialist modernisation thus stands little chance of being achieved.

The project of China as a nuclear waste dump looks like ending right there: on the junk heap of history.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 February 1984)

Carrot tactics instead of the stick

Christian Democrats are seeking ways of introducing economic measures to promote conservation. The aim is to replace police-state methods.

But civil servants, at least the senior ones in the Bonn Interior Ministry who are responsible for environmental policy, still largely favour the old approach.

At a special conference this autumn the Christian Democrats plan to discuss a "new generation" of environmental policy measures.

At a Cabinet meeting last June the government instructed the Ministries concerned to consider whether and to what extent existing atmospheric pollution regulations might be accompanied by other measures geared more to free market principles.

In particular, they were to consider the possibility of introducing transferrable emission rights as a suitable and economic environmental measure.

Inter-Ministerial sessions held so far have rejected the idea entirely, interesting though it might be.

The idea is to lay down tolerable levels of overall pollution for specific toxins, to subdivide the total into units and allocate them to individual companies.

These emission rights would be automatically devalued, or reduced, by a certain annual percentage.

In an interim report the Interior Ministry rules out this proposal for a variety of reasons, one being that it would require substantial extra administration.

Pollution checks would still need to be carried out, merely being joined by government supervision of the market transactions and the devaluation process.

Ministry officials take a kinder view of flexible compensation arrangements by which factory and power station owners would, for instance, be allowed to decide for themselves whether to comply with or do better than the prescribed emission level.

That would mean not every works would have to fulfil the norm as long as the overall pollution level was alright.

Firms would for the first time be able to consider an arrangement that was the least expensive. Plus or minus from one company to another would be offset or balanced.

Proposals along these lines form part of the new draft regulations on emission, but officials advise against incorporating them in the regulations governing power stations, steel mills and other installations with a heavy output of smoke.

Economic advantages in their control could only be gained, the argument goes, by delaying measures to combat atmospheric pollution.

This is because existing legislation would need amending, and as companies are required to submit investment plans by the end of June any discussion of an amendment would only prompt firms to postpone any investment decisions they may have in mind.

The CDU national executive committee has set up an environment subcommittee, showing how important it feels the issue is as a political task to be followed up independently and aggressively.

This point was made by the chairman of the sub-committee, Senator Volker Hassemer of West Berlin, to journalists in Bonn.

Environment policy had in the past been no more than marginal. It must become a central policy issue and the ecological best as matter-of-course as the economic best.

New measures designed to mobilise imagination, environmental behaviour and investment must gradually take the place of today's police-state measures.

That meant, first and foremost, economic measures.

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, 8 February 1984)



■ HEALTH

Sweet and sour: two new artificial sweeteners join fray against sugar

Producers of sugar have been feuding with producers of sugar substitutes for more than 100 years.

Sugar beet has been gaining importance for farmers ever since the first sugar factory went into operation in 1802.

On the other side is the chemical industry, supported by doctors who warn against excessive sugar consumption.

Despite the feud, the past 40 years have shown that both can co-exist profitably.

The production of both sugar and sugar substitutes is government regulated. The EEC has its sugar market regulations and the substitute producers are subject to strict licensing provisions by the health authorities.

It would be idle to enter into a dispute over which of the sweeteners is more natural. To get the sugar out of a beet, the vegetable has to be processed in a refinery.

And artificial sweeteners which, under existing food laws, must be marked as additives, are chemically synthesised.

Saccharin, for instance, is made from the solvent toluene. The process was discovered in 1879 by the US chemist Ira Remsen and the Russian-born US chemist Constantin Falberg.

Until about two years ago, saccharin and cyclamate, discovered in 1937, were the two most important competitors of sugar.

The market has now been joined by two new sweeteners: aspartame, developed by the American G.D. Searle Co., and acesulfam, developed by the German Hoechst AG.

Aspartame is traded under the name of Canderel while acesulfam is sold as Sunett.

Both were discovered by accident. Their high taste quality and the fact that they leave no metallic aftertaste could well turn them into runaway hits for their producers.

They are likely to benefit from the growing health consciousness in the industrial world and from the fact that saccharin and cyclamate have come under suspicion of causing cancer and having other side effects.

In any event, Searle is planning to boost sales in the US alone by 100 per cent a year to an annual $500m in 1986.

The bonanza will be at the expense of saccharin, which accounted for about $2.2bn in sales in its various forms in 1983.

The most promising buyers are likely to be the manufacturers of soft drinks

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and fruit juices along with the chocolate and sweets industry.

Sweeteners are also used in toothpastes, mouthwashes, cosmetics and even envelope gum.

Searle researched and tested the product for 15 years at an estimated cost of tens of millions of dollars.

Few other food additives are likely to have undergone such thorough tests for effects on health.

The industry is as frightened of anything going wrong as is the consumer. Hoechst's test reports on possible health hazards fill more than 50 box files.

Carcinogen and other biological and toxicological tests alone cost Hoechst well over DM10m, according to Dr Lück, the head of its R & D Department in the food sector. The chemical synthesising process cost another DM10m to develop and the actual production facility is likely to cost hundreds of millions. And there is nothing unusual about this cost.

Searle is spending $100m for its production facility in Augusta, Ga., according to the company's vice president, Max Downham.

While Hoechst is still waiting for the green light from the government health authorities, Searle was given a limited licence to sell 7,000 kilos of aspartame in Germany by 31 January 1984. Britain licensed the sale last September.

The two protein components of aspartame, the amino acids phenylalanine and asparaginyl acid, can be found in the human metabolism and in many foodstuffs. In the sweetener they occur in the form of methyl ester.

The body metabolises the sweetener and turns it into methyl alcohol.

But if the daily intake does not exceed 40mg per kilo of body weight, there is no danger of methyl alcohol poisoning.

People who are put on a low phenylalanine diet for health reasons should avoid this type of sweetener or use it very sparingly. But this is a minor point because relatively few people are affected.

They are people with a rare genetic anomaly known as phenylketonuria. The statistical incidence is one in 10,000 births.

Some four million people are said to suffer from the disorder in the USA.

But the disease occurs only if both parents have this genetic defect.

The defect is easily diagnosed and tests are now routinely made with newborn babies.

But even if the disorder is not diagnosed until the child is two or three years old, it is easily controlled by a low phenylalanine diet.

German doctors and consumer associations are pressing for conspicuous warnings on Canderel packages or labels of soft drinks containing the substance. A mere note saying "contains phenylalanine" is not enough, they say.

Some American makers of diet food label their products more clearly: "Phenylketonurics: contains phenylalanine."

With a normal diet, the average daily phenylalanine intake ranges between 50mg and 200mg per kilo of body weight.

Daily aspartame intakes of 20mg to 40mg are therefore regarded as safe.

Considering a sweetening power about 180 to 200 times that of sugar, the consumer can "save" between 280g and 560g of sugar — a huge quantity unlikely to be consumed by anybody.

But this shows the amount of calories that can be saved by dieters or diabetics.

An average person weighing 70 kilos may consume up to 630mg of Hoechst's acesulfam a day. This equals 70g to 100g of sugar, a quantity recommended by the World Health Organisation. By comparison, 175mg of saccharin or 285mg of cyclamate have been ruled admissible for people of that weight.

Naturally, the manufacturers of the two new sweeteners hope to replace saccharin and cyclamate.

Their drive benefits from the fact that both these sweeteners have repeatedly come under fire as potentially carcinogenous in the past two decades.

But the laboratory tests with rats used unrealistically high doses, says Professor Dieter Schmähl, of the Heidelberg Cancer Research Institute.

His own tests have vindicated both saccharin and cyclamate, provided the intake does not exceed safety levels.

When provisionally licensing the two new sweeteners, Britain at the same time banned the sale of cyclamate. The reason given was the better taste quality of the new sweeteners that made cyclamate redundant.

Hoechst's acesulfam has tested out so well as to be certain to become formidable competition for the American product. It passes through the body without being metabolised.

Moreover, it is so temperature proof as to make it suitable for baking. It is also stable in sour foods, including soft drinks. This makes for a long shelf life.

But sweeteners are expensive: 300 Canderel tablets cost just under DM10, compared with DM2.50 for saccharin and DM6 for cyclamate or a blend of the two substances.

Market researchers estimate that some ten million Germans are regular users of sweeteners.

For the German sugar industry this means that two-thirds of the population have remained faithful.

Though direct per capita sugar consumption went down from 16 kilos in 1952 to 10 kilos last year, the drop was more than made up for by the food industry. Overall sugar sales rose 20 per cent in these three decades.

Statistically, the Germans have stuck to medical recommendations: households use slightly more than 28g a day, and even with sweetened foodstuffs the daily consumption is only 92g.

Today's sugar consumption is therefore not the only thing to be blamed for civilisation diseases.

The local sugar industry is more threatened by other factors, among them ersatz sugar made from maize such as isoglucose and similar products.

Even the Coca Cola Co., Germany's biggest sugar buyer, sticks with local sugar. Only one of its 85 decanting plants uses one of the new glucose sugar substitutes on a minor scale.

Biotechnicians consider it possible that progress in fermentation technology will result in new sugar-like or dietary sweeteners that could prove competition for beet farmers and the chemical industry.

There are, for instance, the socalled polysugars which are not metabolised by the human body or certain glucoses, i.e. sugar with a different molecular structure.

Though they can be found in nature, only few micro-organisms are capable of feeding on them and digesting them.

But it is likely to take 15 to 20 years to develop these products given today's state of biotechnology.

Arno Nöldechen

(Die Welt, 11 February 1984)

Continued from page 12

ems and in a position to solve them sooner.

Instead of defusing techniques that are a burden on the environment the Japanese devised new techniques that ruled out difficulties from the start.

This different approach to the problem is not a matter of more or less democracy; it is the result of different conditions.

There is no reason why we must walk around wearing protective face masks until the last pollution offender realises the advantage of grasping the initiative before regulations are imposed from above.

Norbert Sturm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 February 1984)

Diabetes: radio signals harnessed to control insulin dosage

Hannoversche Allgemeine

A foil-covered sensor implanted in the chest cavity is likely to help diabetics by constantly monitoring the amount of glucose in the blood.

The device could easily be coupled with an insulin pump in order automatically to control dosages.

The device was developed by Professor Manfred Kessler and the biologist Jens Höper of Erlangen-Nuremberg University's Institute for Physiology and Cardiology.

Its secret lies in a gold electrode coated with three membranes.

One membrane wards off impurities, the other converts blood sugar into hydrogen peroxide which, through the third, reaches the gold electrode, where it oxidises.

The resulting changes in electrical currents are measured and radioed out of the chest cavity.

While using the effects of electrochemical oxidation on metal electrodes to measure sugar levels, the two scientists avoided the problems posed by earlier devices that became inaccurate due to impurities. The membranes prevent this.

In the clinical tests due to begin in about two years, insulin will be given conventionally by syringe.

The sensor will make it possible to keep a constant check on the glucose level and eliminate the need for constant blood checks.

The main target group for the device is the 60,000 German diabetics who suffer from unstable diabetes.

Their sugar level varies constantly, and an unexpected drop below a certain point could be fatal: the sensor would sound the alarm.

Insulin dosage could be completely automated by coupling the sensor with an insulin pump or an artificial pancreas, the organ that produces insulin in a healthy person.

Instead of undergoing blood tests and injecting insulin, the diabetic of the future would only have to keep his insulin pump supplied.

In addition, the insulin level could be regulated as in healthy people by adjusting to requirements.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 January 1984)

■ SOCIETY

University degree no longer guarantee of a place in the workforce

For a long time hard work and perseverance at university was enough to ensure a good job in industry or the civil service. Academic excellence was not necessary.

There are 600,000 under 25-year-olds out of work, including many graduates. What nobody wanted to believe has happened. A university education is no longer guarantees job.

A high school graduate born in the 1960s who, after a wait of several years, gets a university place, must expect the worst once he starts looking for a job, competing against many others with the same qualifications.

In the 1990s, there will be even fewer vacant jobs and a great many more highly educated people competing for them.

They can expect no money from home nor do they get any unemployment benefits because, as students, they have paid no unemployment insurance.

And social welfare is only granted if a person can prove that he is jobless although he or she was prepared to take any kind of work whatsoever.

Maybe people with doctorates will be sweeping the streets in the 1990s as they now do in Italy.

Already, many graduates in the humanities are glad to get jobs they would have once rejected.

There are plenty of taxi drivers with

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academic degrees and women teachers who are glad to get a job as typists.

This is not a problem yet for such people. But it might one day become an explosive social issue. After all, university students have practice in airing grievances.

As if they had only just realised the dangers, more and more politicians are now warning against going to university, although they know very well that the run on the universities is already programmed.

But even the pessimists in the CDU/CSU could not have anticipated the persistent economic crisis and the constant drop in available jobs.

And since universities are costly it seems doubly advisable to counsel vocational training for high school graduates.

To prevent an academic proletariat developing, Rhineland-Palatinate Prime Minister Bernhard Vogel has suggested that intending graduates seek apprenticeships instead. This, he says would offer them more security.

Bonn Education Minister Dorothee Wilms also favours vocational training as an alternative to an academic education.

Nobody can accuse recent school leavers of being inflexible. They have used what scope they have had and have stopped dreaming about of old style careers.

The *Wissenschaftsrat*, an academic body, already defends university entrants against accusations of being unrealistic in planning their future.

Instead, they are said to be "receptive to all information about job prospects." This is confirmed by fluctuations in choosing university subjects.

No sooner did rumours of a shortage of engineers start than the number of students in technical fields rose. And the number wanting to study to become teachers has been declining steadily.

Some have lost interest in further study altogether. Both federal and state statistics show the lowest interest in university entrance since 1971.

In 1982, 67 per cent of high school graduates wanted to go to university. Latest statistics show this is down to 62 per cent.

The old fairy tale about young people having a fixation on dream careers and therefore being unable to find an apprenticeship has long shown to be wrong.

On the contrary. They are increasingly prepared to compromise by accepting careers that fall far short of their original ambitions, and take what's going. This has been confirmed by state Labour Offices.

But these youngsters are hardly interested in even more competition from high school graduates.

Graduates have the edge in the commercial occupations even though most of them regard their completed on-the-job training only as added security.

A survey by the *Gesellschaft Hochschul-Informations-System* shows that high school graduates don't regard an apprenticeship as a lasting alternative to an academic education.

The *Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft* also suspects that the 100,000 or so apprentices with high school diplomas are only interested in a dual vocational and academic qualification.As a result, they only put an additional strain on the apprenticeship market.

Some 670,000 apprenticeship contracts were signed last year compared with 700,000 registered applicants, according to Labour Office figures.

But government and Opposition in Bonn still disagree over how many applicants were actually unsuccessful. The figures range between 31,000 and 60,000.

The trade unions represented in the Federal Institute for Vocational Training speak of 80,000.

The only thing that is certain is that things will be worse this year, with more applicants and even fewer vacancies.

It is feared that there will be a shortage of some 100,000 apprenticeships. The figure does not include those who have given up.

The solution on which the business community and the politicians agreed many years ago seemed plausible at the time.

Business was prepared number of apprenticeships and the education ministers promoted university education.

In 1977, the state education ministers promised to keep the university ga[...] open to applicants, and the West Ge[...]man Vice-Chancellors' Confere[...] agreed to support this.

Though there has been a considera[...] increase in the number of apprenti[...]ships since then, the demand-supply g[...] was never closed. And the universiti[...] have their worst problems still ahead [...] them.

The previous SPD-FDP coaliti[...] wanted to help ever more to gradu[...] from high school. This was intended [...] help towards the personal developme[...] of the individual and to boost the [...]tion's educational level in a bid to co[...]pete with industrial competition fro[...] abroad.

The policy was successful. In 19[...] only eight per cent of young people gr[...]duated from high school and were el[...]gible for university. Today's figure f[...] university entrance is 20 per cent.

The Standing Conference of We[...] German University Vice-Chancello[...] expects the figure for university entra[...] to rise to between 34 and 38 per cent.

The number of university stude[...] rose from 291,000 to 1.2 million duri[...] the 1960s.

The Standing Conference of Educa[...]tion Ministers expects a peak in 1990: [...] 1.5 million students.

Education promotion also had [...] good side. In the 1970s, it provide[...] much-needed relief for the hard-pres[...]ed job market by easing the number o[...] job hunters.

About 680,000 people were held [...] the job market because of educati[...] between 1971 and 1980, according [...] Manfred Tessaring of the Nurembe[...] Institute for Labour Market and Occ[...]pational Research.

Problem only delayed

But the problem has only been po[...]poned, not solved.

Tessaring expects 400,000 gradua[...] of all kinds to crowd the job mark[...] between 1986 and 1990. The figure [...] expected to rise to 600,000 between 19[...] and 1995.

Working lives have become sho[...] and the influx of graduates to the j[...] market has become more graduated.

Which is cause and which effect? [...] certainly not the alleged excessive de[...] of young people to go to university th[...] causes the job bottleneck.

They must continue to go to univers[...] if things are not to get worse. The u[...]versities have no choice but to o[...] their doors to acceptable applicants.

Though hard hit by stiff financ[...] cuts, the universities are prepared to [...]nour their promise to take applica[...] from the baby-boom years.

The vice-chancellors thinks little [...] the idea of having even more h[...] school graduates take up apprentic[...]ships.

They fear that they will take the p[...]es of other youngsters who would [...] get no vocational training at all.

The vice-chancellors argue that re[...]cing the number of university stude[...] would not balance supply and dema[...] on the job market but would simply s[...] the problem to another plane.

Their experience with long-term m[...] power forecasts has, in any event, b[...] poor.

The salient point is career prosp[...] both today and tomorrow. The quest[...] is not whether a few more or a few [...] high school graduates go to univers[...]

The question is where to find [...] jobs.

Ruth Bergner

(Die Zeit, 10 Februar[...])

■ MODERN LIVING

Vicarage refuge in bid to avoid deportation

An Indian couple who have lived in Hamburg for 20 years have sought refuge in a vicarage to avoid being served with a deportation order.

They are Deepak and Debjani Datta. He arrived in 1961 and she joined him shortly afterwards.

He was recruited as a toolmaker by a German company and went to evening classes he paid for himself. He qualified as an engineer.

He and his wife are now to be deported even though both have long made Germany their home and been entitled to become naturalised Germans for years.

They have now gone underground and are being hidden by a Protestant parish in Wedel, just over the border in neighbouring Holstein.

Rev. Hans-Günter Werner and a solidarity committee are trying to persuade the authorities to reconsider their decision.

After a visit to Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi there were slight hopes that the situation might take a turn for the better.

But the Dattas remain mistrustful and are not coming out of hiding for the time being.

Susan Alviola, a Philippine seaman's wife, is in a similar position. While her husband is sailing the seven seas with German papers she is to be sent back to the Philippines.

So are her two daughters, Alvin, 12, and Clarisse, 13, who are doing well at German schools.

Mrs Alviola came to Hamburg in 1981, relying on the established practice of the local authorities of allowing the families of foreign seamen working on German ships to live in the city.

She moved to Hamburg to be able to see her husband and care for him more frequently. Back home in the Philippines she only saw him once every few years.

But by the time she arrived a change had taken place in aliens' policy. A Hamburg lawyer and a committee have been looking after the Alviolas for some time.

The strain of uncertainty has made its mark on the family, and when the deportation order was finally issued Rev. Christian Arndt and his wife gave them refuge in the vicarage of the Friedenskirche in Altona, a Hamburg suburb.

The parish elders, in a parish where 40 per cent of residents are foreign nationals, unanimously endorsed the decision.

"As soon as I become aware of the Alviolas' situation," Arndt says, "I knew something had to be done fast. The church ought to have taken action long beforehand."

There have been few critics in the parish of the vicar's decision to let them stay in his home.

"We wanted to stake out a threshold the authorities would have to cross," he explains. "If the police had still come we would have gone over to the church together."

The two vicars are not on their own in standing up for aliens' rights. The new Bishop of Hamburg, Peter Krusche, also supports such moves.

Bishop Krusche, who until he took over a year ago held the chair of practical theology at Munich University, was interviewed on the subject by the weekly newspaper *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt.*

Asked by the paper, which has close links with the Protestant church, whether he approved of the two parishes' behaviour, he said:

"Yes, provided the law as it stands is simply brushed aside. Yes, because I believe that in this way pauses for thought are provided for both sides, enabling talks to be resumed.

"An area of freedom for people is what is being sounded out."

Church tradition is recalled by these words, although not exactly Protestant tradition. But the Catholic church retained a right of asylum until recently.

In the first centuries of the Christian era people who were sought by the authorities, whether rightly or wrongly, could always rely on the church for temporary refuge.

The church offered asylum until clerical authorities had drawn up objections to the prosecution and been given an answer.

This right of asylum was breached by various special provisions but the idea of the church as a place of refuge has never entirely been lost. It now seems to be gaining ground among Protestants.

Hamburg is not the only German city where aliens have been granted asylum by Protestant parishes. It happened in Gelsenkirchen in the Ruhr last summer.

Refuge was given to a Turkish woman facing deportation whose husband had worked as a coalminer since 1970 and had died in a road accident.

This protection and the public outcry succeeded in getting the deportation order on the widow and her children withdrawn.

For the clergymen and congregations that now champion aliens' rights it is not just a matter of church traditions but of the political past.

"I am a German and part of the history of a people that has repeatedly persecuted minorities," Rev. Arndt says.

"War must never again break out on German soil, and people must never again be persecuted in Germany either." He refers to everyday racism.

Another point strikes him: "Foreigners here are treated as though they were merely labourers. But people are more than that, which is why the church cannot be silent about what is being done with aliens these days."

Arndt accuses politicians of behaving like courts, "but parliament has other duties to perform than to play at being a court of law."

Parishioners who in the past have always strongly favoured keeping the church and politics apart have now realised, he says, that nothing can be achieved without political intervention.

It remains to be seen whether more can be accomplished than a delay in deporting people. In Hamburg only the GAL, the small ecological group in the city council, are strictly opposed to deportation orders.

The ruling Social Democrats will be unable to avoid further internal dispute on the subject and can no longer take the easy way out and leave it to the courts to decide.

Unrest in Social Democratic ranks is too strong just to rubber-stamp legal rulings.

Home Affairs Senator Alfons Pawelczyk has submitted proposals to the Standing Conference of *Land* Interior Ministers.

He would like to see a joint approach adopted to cases such as those described. If he goes it alone he is afraid people in a similar position will head for Hamburg from all over the country.

The conference has begun by instructing civil servants to consider the matter. That is unlikely to be of much help to the Datta family.

The Alviolas were able to return to their home for the time being. Their lawyer, Rolf Geffken, has appealed against the deportation order to the administrative court.

Karsten Plog

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 February 1984)

An aliens policy compromise in sight

Aliens policy is not clearly outlined in Bonn coalition policy agreements and remains a controversial issue among Christian and Free Democrats.

After Cabinet trouble over Defence Minister Wörner (CDU) and Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff (FDP) Bonn's legislative timetable may even fall behind schedule again.

A tougher Aliens Bill was heralded last December. It was to have been submitted in April and passed by the Bundestag in autumn.

Chancellor Kohl, Interior Minister Zimmermann, Foreign Minister Genscher and Labour Minister Blüm were to have conferred in January.

Their meeting was cancelled to avert a coalition clash.

The same four Ministers met at the beginning of December and rejected the Zimmermann Plan to reduce the maximum age at which aliens' children can join them in Germany from 16 to six.

A compromise may be in sight. It is to limit the entitlement of second-generation aliens to have wives or husbands join them in Germany instead.

That at least is how the CDU government in Baden-Württemberg interprets its latest demand, although Prime Minister Lothar Späth is clearly aiming at scoring election campaign points.

No matter how much consideration the Chancellor may be prepared to show for his coalition partners, the Free Democrats, he can hardly disregard the wide-ranging political support enjoyed by CSU Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

A reduction of the age until which children can join their parents in Germany is supported by CDU/CSU parliamentary party leaders in the *Länder*, by the Standing Conference of Town Councils and by the *Länder* of Bavaria, Berlin and Baden-Württemberg.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party in Bonn has proposed allowing Turkish children of any age to join parents in Germany but to withdraw their residence permits when they reach the age of 18.

Herr Zimmermann rejects this idea as impracticable. Children of this kind would be "wanderers between two worlds" and nowhere at home or capable of being integrated.

Is there any need for fresh restrictions, the Free Democrats wonder. So do the churches and trade unions, bearing in mind population trends.

For the past two years the number of foreign residents in the Federal Republic has declined steadily: by 111,300 in 1982 and by 130,000 in 1983.

For the first time ever the number of Turkish migrant workers and their families has declined too. The number of newcomers has remained stable but that of returnees has increased.

In September 1982 there were 1,580,000 Turkish residents. By September last year their number had declined to 1,520,000.

A recent poll of Turkish heads of households in Germany by the Isoplan market research institute has revealed that the potential number of wives and children who might join husbands in the Federal Republic may not yet have been exhausted but is by no means as substantial as is often imagined.

Of the Turkish men — married men — interviewed, 77 per cent already had their wives living with them in Germany, and of the remaining 23 only 15 per cent said they might be joining them in the foreseeable future.

The same goes for children still living in Turkey. Thirty per cent of the Turks questioned said they still had children back home,

But only five per cent of them, or 16 per cent of the respondents with children still in Turkey, planned to bring them to Germany as matters stand.

Assuming the intentions stated are put into practice to a reasonable extent, says Manfred Werth of Isoplan, that would mean the number of newcomers from Turkey will continue to decline in the years ahead.

It will do so perceptibly even without further restrictions. Estimates for a twelve-month period indicate the number of newcomers will be halved.

According to the Isoplan survey only seven per cent of Turkish families in the Federal Republic plan to stay in Germany for good.

In his government policy statement Chancellor Kohl outlined the essentials of aliens policy regardless of the debate on details.

They are: a limitation in the number of foreign residents, integration and encouragement of voluntary repatriation.

Consideration is being given at the Labour Ministry to whether foreign residents who are willing to return to their native countries and are eligible for repatriation grants can be paid grants while still in Germany.

By the terms of the appropriate legislation they are only entitled to be paid the grant on leaving the country to ensure they don't stay illegally.

Prior payment will, it is hoped, persuade a larger number of Turkish workers in particular to return home.

They stand to receive as much as DM30,000 to DM 60,000, including pension contribution refunds and severance payments.

Many would like to buy machinery or equipment in Germany to set up a workshop or small factory back home. 43.3 per cent of Turks questioned by Isoplan said they were seriously considering the idea.

Why were Turks keen to return home anxious to do so? Loneliness and homesickness as motives were mentioned by 55 per cent.

Next, with 44 per cent, came the dislike of and hostility toward foreigners they experienced in the Federal Republic.

Günter Kleer

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